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Chemical Weapons Destruction Plant Visited

LD1302135388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Chapayevsk, Kuybyshev Oblast, Central Volga, 13 Feb—TASS political observer Sergey Kulik and TASS military affairs observer Vladimir Chernyshev report:

Journalists have, for the first time, been given the opportunity to visit the workshops and laboratories of the chemical weapons destruction enterprise situated on the right bank of the Volga, in Kuybushev Oblast. Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mentioned this installation near the town of Chapayevsk in his speech at the recent Paris conference, saying: "Today we are literally steps and gestures away from concluding a historic convention on banning and fully eliminating chemical weapons."

As soon as the installation, the construction of which is currently nearing completion, goes into operation, foreign representatives will be invited there. The technological lines have already been set up, equipment assembled, and individual tests carried out. Now preparations are under way for comprehensive testing of the entire system on neutral means, then on simulators, and only then on real means, that is on phosphororganic war gases, examples of which were demonstrated in October 1987 in Shikhany to delegations from 45 states. Then it was a matter of the Chapayevsk installation being commissioned in 1988. Now it is already 1989....

"We deliberately allowed this delay, recognizing the responsibility which our collective bears," says Colonel Vyacheslav Solovyev, head of the enterprise. "This kind of installation cannot be built in a hurry. In the future, too, we do not intend to cultivate shock workers of communist labor on the destruction of toxic agents. We will do our job without shock work, the weapons will be destroyed on approximately 100 days of the year. The rest of the time we will be working on preventative tasks."

Far from all the people of Chapayevsk considered the news of the construction of this kind of enterprise not far from their town as a gift. Letters of protest winged their way to Moscow and the ecological movement became active. When a government commission was working in Chapayevsk recently and members of the commission met representatives of the public, calls for the new installation to be moved further away were heard in the speeches of many of the townspeople.... They had endured too much, due to the negligence of town authorities during the years of stagnation and had lost faith in the promises of the managers of the already existing local enterprises that they would stop acid and chlorine discharges, for them to believe that the new installation, the name of which features the term "chemical weapons," which intimidates many people, was not harmful either to them or to the environment.

"We are paying particular attention to safety technology for the destruction of toxic agents, we were told by Major General Stanislav Petrov, who was recently appointed head of the chemical troops of the USSR Ministry of Defense. And this is the opinion of Major General Igor Yevstafyev, doctor of technology: "One-step technology is used in the United States, in Britain, and in the FRG: They destroy the toxic agents directly. We have divided this process into two stages. First of all, we decontaminate and neutralize them, essentially disarming the lethal stuffing of the ammunition, and then we get rid of the stock which we have obtained in this manner and which represents no direct danger. Of course, this way is more complicated and more expensive. But then it guarantees that ecological problems are dealt with."

The facility's brain center is housed in an elegant engineering complex covered with blue stone. The control desk, fitted with a computer from which highly qualified specialists are to observe all the technological processes day and night, is situated here. Opposite is the three-story laboratory building. Express analyses will be conducted here of all the reagents received for destroying toxic agents and its stock.

Close at hand will be the international monitoring laboratory. The Soviet side will merely contribute its vital activity and security systems. The foreign experts will be able to bring all the instruments with them, which will give them the possibility of objectively assessing the situation both at the facility and around it.

"Incidentally, does it not seem to you that the very fact that we intend to propose that the foreign specialists not only work but also live alongside the facility demonstrates our confidence that they will be completely safe?" said Colonel Solovev, squinting his eyes cunningly. "And we do care about our own people...."

Passing the containers of decontaminators in the tank park, which shine silver in the bright sunlight, we come to the preparatory section of the main technology complex. The ammunition that arrives here from storage is removed from the factory packing and sent onto the technological line.

Here we are in a realm of automation and electronics. Depending on the size of the ammunition, it goes onto a conveyer suiting its parameters. On the far left line of the conveyor chemical parts for tactical missiles packed with viscous "ZH" will be carried away for destruction. They are equal to the height of almost two people and have a 884 mm caliber.

Next to these, the chemical parts for aviation bombs containing 49 kg of Sarin will begin their road to oblivion alongside those for artillery shells able to carry 8 kg of this toxic agent "ZH". And only one milligram of Sarin is required for humanity to abandon all their cares and activities.

However, the toxic agents are not allowed to show themselves here. The sluice at the end of the conveyor in the preparatory section is at the threshold of "the other world" for chemical ammunition. When they pass through this, they end up in the main hall of the technological complex which looks to the dilettante like a jumble of intricate installations and pipes interwoven like a cobweb. In the center are the hermetic chambers in which the grey-colored metallic casing of the munition is automatically bored and opened, and in which the toxic agent is extracted from the casing in a vacuum.

From here the toxic agents pass along the main arteries into apparatuses where they are rendered harmless by mixing with neutralizers. Very high temperatures enable these chamical reactions to be carried out in a short time. Instead of terrible toxic agents, we shall now be dealing with non-toxic substances.

In the future, scientists will think about how to make fertilizer from this mass, which is based on organic phosphates, and how to use the expensive ethers and resins contained in it. The casing of the munitions will also find a use: After decontamination, annealing and cutting up they will be turned into scrap metal, steel, copper, and aluminum.

Of the many meetings and conversations we had in Chapayevsk, we would like to mention just one more, with Senior Lieutenant Roman Chirkin, who before being called upon to join the ranks of the Soviet Army 2 years ago, was studying at the history faculty at Donetsk University.

"In our military terminology, this is an 'installation'. But as a historian, I would describe it as the first disarmament factory in history. The foundation stones were laid not only by builders, but also by Soviet politicians and diplomats who fought for the destruction of chemical weapons over decades in disputes and skirmishes at international talks. Now, I hope, the outcome of this struggle is near at hand. This is why I am proud of doing my military service at this disarmament factory, of coming into contact here with living history, and making my own contribution to the cause of universal peace."

NATO Discord Felt on Short-Range Nuclear Arms

PM1302114389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Yuriy Zhukov "View From Moscow": "What Is To Be Done With Short-Range Missiles?"]

[Text] Yes, what will happen to this class of nuclear means, whose range extends up to 500 km? European politicians and statesmen have been faced with this question increasingly frequently since intermediate- and shorter-range missiles began to be eliminated.

The urgency of this problem increased still more after our foreign minister, touching in his 19 January Vienna speech on the unilateral reduction in armed forces and arms announced by the USSR, emphasized that the formations and units which we are cutting will be withdrawn from central Europe **"with all their organic armaments, including tactical nuclear systems."** He also reported that **the USSR will not modernize these systems.**

You might think that that statement would have aroused satisfaction in Washington and in other capitals of the NATO countries, whose leading figures have constantly repeated that they are incredibly frightened by our tactical nuclear means. But how did they react?

Washington at once showed...concern (!) in connection with the fact that "complexities will arise for one of the most delicate items on George Bush's foreign policy agenda" (I cite a CBS-TV report broadcast a few hours after E.A. Shevardnadze's Vienna speech).

What, then, is the essence of this question, which for some reason suddenly became "delicate"? It is this: The U.S. plans to site new nuclear means in West Europe, on the pretext of "modernizing" the obsolete short-range Lance tactical missiles, are meeting with growing resistance among West Europeans, and among FRG citizens above all.

It is natural that the authoritative statement that the USSR, without waiting for the problem of short-range missiles as a whole to be resolved, is beginning their withdrawal from central Europe and renouncing the modernization of this category of nuclear arms should intensify the demands, which are being heard increasingly loudly in West Europe, for talks to begin on a "third nuclear zero"—on the destruction of short-range nuclear means following the current elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The governments of the NATO countries allied with the United States really did find themselves in a delicate position. On the one hand, "Atlantic solidarity" required them to support the U.S. stand on the "modernization" of tactical missiles. On the other hand, it was risky to ignore the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the population opposed to it.

Discord made itself felt in the allies' camp. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported 30 January that **"West Germany, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Spain are mounting a lobbying campaign in NATO, seeking talks with the Soviet Union," whereas "the United States, Britain, and France are opposed to talks on short-range missiles."**

Bonn announced that **"a working group of the federal government is currently preparing the FRG's proposals on reducing tactical nuclear weapons"**—missiles and artillery capable of firing nuclear charges. It was reported that the FRG would like to halve the number of U.S. nuclear charges on its territory.

The British Government at once tried to pressure Bonn. British Foreign Secretary G. Howe arrived there 27 January. He tried to convince his colleague Genscher that...NATO **"must not lay down its arms just because the Soviet Union is making belated (!) arms cuts."** On the contrary, G. Howe suggested, rather the West should reach agreement on the "modernization" of its nuclear systems "so as to be strong in the face of the 'Soviet threat.'"

The debate on this topic resumed 30 January, when FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz arrived in London. To judge from reports in the Western mass media, his British colleague G. Younger, just like G. Howe, advocated the "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons without delay. However, the British secretary failed to secure specific promises from R. Scholz with regard to implementing such NATO plans.

Meanwhile, there was a debate on disarmament issues in the FRG Bundestag. Speaking there, H.-D. Genscher declared that it was now necessary to seek a reduction in short-range nuclear missiles to the lowest possible level. At the same time deputies for the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the "Green" Party criticized the government for insufficient investment in the disarmament cause. The Social Democrats bluntly demanded "the elimination of all nuclear weapons."

At the same time sharp polemics over this issue developed at the Munich conference of the "Wehrkunde" military scientific society. Former U.S. Senator J. Tower, whom the U.S. President is recommending for the post of defense secretary, urgently arrived there and called on West Europeans to **"cast aside all doubts regarding the need to modernize tactical nuclear weapons."**

But that statement did not convince the FRG representatives. Addressing the conference, even A. Dregger, chairman of the Bundestag faction of the ruling Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union Party, demanded a reduction in battlefield nuclear weapons. SPD representative K. Voigt warned Tower that **"German voters might make politicians not modernize tactical missiles but hold talks on them with the Soviet Union."**

Finally, FRG Chancellor H. Kohl himself declared in an interview in the British FINANCIAL TIMES that "NATO should not be in a hurry to site new short-range nuclear missiles in the FRG." Commenting on the chancellor's statement, this newspaper remarked 10 February: "Bonn believes that the modernization which the United States and Britain are seeking will give the wrong signal to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries at a time of East-West detente."

The noisy scandal over plans made public in Bonn for the creation [sozdaniye] of a new missile with a range of up to 500 km through the joint efforts of the U.S. and West German military industries still further exacerbated the existing tension. Although an FRG Government spokesman hastened to deny a West German television report that the new missile might be equipped with a nuclear warhead, doubts about this remained.

The FRG Government's decision—the only sensible one in that situation—to suspend work on creating the new missile, work on which, it turns out, has been going on for 3 years and has had DM100 million spent on it, does not solve the problem as a whole. People do not stop asking over and over again: What will happen in the end to all the short-range missiles? Would it not be more sensible to destroy them completely?

In this connection I would like to put this simple question: Since, according to the latest public opinion poll data, the overwhelming majority of Europeans support the idea of a nuclear-free Europe (in the FRG, for example, 79 percent of the population is in favor of this!), why not begin talks on the elimination of short-range missiles?

Talks will begin in March on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe. Very good. But the question of short-range missiles does not feature on the agenda of those talks. The disarmament conference has resumed its work in Geneva. But the question of short-range missiles is not being examined there either. The conference will concentrate on the question of banning chemical weapons. Other talks are also continuing with regard to various kinds of arms, but the problem of short-range missiles is not being touched on there either.

One wonders: What can account for such discrimination against a problem which, as the development of events shows, is becoming increasingly acute? **It strikes me that it would not be so difficult to organize a separate examination of the question of short-range missiles in parallel with the talks which are already being conducted on urgent problems of disarmament. What is needed for this is merely the firm will of both sides.**

The opinion being voiced increasingly frequently in the FRG, and not only there, that it is necessary to begin such talks is, in my view, perfectly reasonable!

Inspectors in FRG for Missile Elimination

LD1302201789 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn February 13 TASS—A group of 12 Soviet inspectors arrived in Frankfurt am Main on Monday.

They will be present at the elimination of another batch of launching installations for U.S. Pershing-2 nuclear missiles in accordance with the Soviet-American INF Treaty which is to take place on February 14-16.

The missiles will be eliminated at the U.S. centre for the repair and maintenance of Pershing-2 missiles situated in Hausen, suburb of Frankfurt am Main. The installations each weighing over 10.5 tons will be cut into pieces by special gas burners and electric saws and sent for subsequent remelting.

The first nine out of 114 launching installations were destroyed last October. Pershing-2 missiles will be destroyed on U.S. territory.

U.S. Conducts Underground Nuclear Test

LD1102084989 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 11 TASS—An underground nuclear explosion was conducted in the United States on Friday. According to Jim Boyer, spokesman for the U.S. Department of Energy, its capacity was from 20 to 150 kilotons.

The explosion code-named Texarcana was conducted at the Nevada test site. Boyer said that the radiation level in the area of the test site continued to be normal. It was the 688th nuclear explosion conducted in Nevada.

On the eve of the explosion a demonstration of American peace activists was staged outside the test site in protest against the nuclear tests.

Joint Warsaw Pact Maneuvers Conclude in CSSR

LD1102114289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 11 Feb 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program, presented by Oleg Dobrodeyev]

[Text] In accordance with the plan of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Command, joint military exercises have begun in Czechoslovakia, with the participation of the Hungarian People's Army, the Central Group of Troops, and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Today's tasks include defense training and the launching of a counteroffensive against the enemy. The military maneuvers are being carried out in bad weather and thick fog. [video shows camouflage nets covering Army equipment; an Army truck with Russian license number 74-98 KO driving through deep mud; heavy earthmoving machinery in action; soldiers digging trenches; tanks parked in a field]

CSSR Defense Minister Comments

LD1302120889 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Prague February 13 TASS—The CTK news agency reports that joint military exercises with the participation of the Hungarian People's Army, the Central Army Group and the Czechoslovak People's Army ended in Czechoslovakia.

According to the estimate of General of the Army Milan Vaclavik, Czechoslovak minister of national defence, they were instructive and showed a higher level of military preparedness of fraternal armies. The aims set for the troops participating in the war games were achieved. Troops which took part in them are returning to places of their permanent deployment.

*Officials Review CEMA Problems, Prospects

WA18250073 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 14

[Interview with Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, and Yuriy Shiryayev, director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, by correspondent Aleksey Korobov on the 40th anniversary of CEMA: "CEMA: Economy Instead of Emotions"; place, date not given]

[Text] [Korobov] At the end of the 1970's CEMA adopted long-term (10 years) goal-oriented cooperation programs, whose realization was supposed to meet the demand of the population and the national economy of CEMA members for the necessary goods and equipment. What has happened with these programs?

[Yu. Shiryayev] The 40th anniversary of CEMA makes us ponder many things. For example, in 1958 we adopted a decision to study the problem of our own price formation system. It was clear that fuel and food prices were too low and the difference in prices of science-intensive and ordinary machine building output was too small. Numerous plans were worked out. However, owing to the positions of a number of countries, they remained unrealized.

If at that time there had been a sufficient will to implement them, the world price explosion of 1973-1974, when oil increased 11-fold in price, pulling up all the rest, would not have caught us by surprise. We would have had the price system that, subsequently, emerged spontaneously on the world market. CEMA countries would not have had to break existing export-import structures.

Let us turn to long-term goal-oriented programs. Many of them withered at the root because they were not provided with sufficient resources. However, the very method of working out such programs is a serious find of CEMA.

Here the problem lies in the fact that CEMA often adopted decisions more on an emotional level, without economic substantiation. When CEMA adopted long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs, only then did we at the institute begin to work on them on our own initiative. We ascertained that their realization would require allocations of 250 billion transferable rubles. We lost interest in these programs because it became clear that the available resources for them were insufficient.

[Korobov] CEMA restructuring is based on a new scheme for collective cooperation. What does it represent?

[V. Sychev] Not long ago an organization of country A, wishing to interact with an organization of country B, took the following path: It went to the ministry of country A, the ministry went to the ministry of country B, and the latter gave a command to its organization. All this came to a standstill at the ministry level. Add agreements with the Gosplan and so forth to this.

Direct cooperation is the logical way out of the departmental merry-go-round. Therefore, a completely new model of interaction was adopted at the 43d meeting of the CEMA session. It is built on three levels—the intergovernmental level, the level of sectorial ministries and departments, and the level of direct producers. Direct ties are established, which simplifies the coordination system. As decided, CEMA will deal with the first level.

It would be naive to assume that we held a session, adopted a magnificent paper where everything was noted down, and can rest on our laurels. Nothing of the kind. In my opinion, the main result of the work that has been done lies in the fact that today all CEMA members have finally understood that without radical changes in the mechanism of cooperation it will be difficult for us to move ahead.

[Korobov] You adopted the latest decision. However, should it not take previous ones into consideration? In published CEMA materials I never encountered the word "control." Is responsibility for the nonfulfillment of assumed obligations not envisaged in CEMA? Does the reason for the lack of realization of many projects not lie here?

[V. Sychev] We discussed the matter of introducing sanctions and establishing a board of arbitration in CEMA, to which direct producers, not countries, could turn. For now the discussion has ended with nothing. This is one of the reasons why the enterprise director is reluctant to cooperate with an enterprise in another country. He obtains some satisfaction from a supplier in his own country, but can do nothing here.

[Korobov] Most likely, however, sanctions should not be necessarily legal-administrative. After all, there are economic and financial levers....

[V. Sychev] They never existed. CEMA was established as an organization developing a joint economic policy and giving recommendations to its members. But, no more.

In contrast to the EEC, we do not have a multibillion budget formed out of a percent deduction from the gross national product of members, that is, funds used for financing integration processes directly, not indirectly through departments.

We always say proudly that the CEMA has no supranational functions. But now, when we are conducting negotiations with the EEC, we are beginning to ponder whether this is always good. As yet I have not heard about countries that would like to delegate part of their economic rights to CEMA.

[Yu. Shiryayev] We have unnecessarily intimidated ourselves with the specter of supranationality.

In Western Europe there is the European Parliament—a consultative body with the function of a carrier of the West European idea. It seems to me that we should also have, for example, an interparliamentary commission, which would regularly examine matters connected with CEMA activity and submit the necessary legislative acts on cooperation to the parliaments of countries for consideration.

It is not so important that some parliaments may not ratify such a draft law. On the other hand, where it is adopted, legal guarantees for participation in the process of integration will be ensured. The right to join later would be reserved for the rest. If we take the practice of the Common Market, such a principle has long been used there.

[Korobov] Today the degree of integration in the EEC is higher than in CEMA. For example, in the total volume of machine building output, which CEMA countries exchange, the share of machines developed on the basis of cooperation makes up about 7 percent, but in the EEC, more than 40....

[V. Sychev] True. High rates of growth of mutual trade turnover are the indicator of well-being of any international economic organization. In recent years these rates have become very low in the CEMA. There is stagnation. There are two reasons: a drop in oil prices and the fact that the opportunities for an increase in a simple commodity exchange have virtually been exhausted.

There is one way out—the development of production specialization and cooperation, that is, international division of labor. Precisely this direction is the content of the CEMA program document—the Collective Concept for 1991-2005.

Incidentally, the central idea is not new here. It was proclaimed as long ago as the 1960's. However, the seriousness of the obstacles, many of which have not even now been overcome, was not recognized at that time. First of all, there is the existing mechanism of cooperation, then, the unconvertibility of currencies. Today everyone has already set the goal of attaining in time a convertibility of national currencies within the CEMA framework and a convertibility with currencies of Western countries at the next stage.

[Yu. Shiryayev] When large international structures are established, a purely monetary convertibility is not obligatory. It can be ensured through an evaluation of assets and the issuance of shares and other securities. The circulation of securities by means of a stock exchange would facilitate the transfer of resources to the areas that need to be developed.

There are also other possibilities of coming closer to the convertibility of currencies. At the institute we thought out the idea of creating a special transferable ruble with gold backing, or, for countries not having a gold reserve, in a convertible currency. As EEC practice shows, with the establishment of ECU (the name of the currency) it is completely unnecessary to issue it on a vast scale. For example, ECU began only with 8.5 billion and then the mass of money increased through settlements and credits.

Such an alternative right away has a real basis for a monetary unit. Let us recall that we are gold exporters. The sale of gold is not the most effective method of using it. If gold is to be used to back a monetary unit, effectiveness will rise immeasurably.

As a result, we will receive a reserve of currency (at first of a small volume), which during crediting operations and so forth would soon begin to grow rapidly as in any repeated circulation. Then these funds could be used for crediting projects not only in CEMA, but also in Western countries. I am an advocate of the creation of a universal international currency not attached to any national currency.

We were not afraid to introduce the gold chervonets during the 1920's, which were the most difficult years for us. Then we talked a great deal about losses. However, facts are facts. With the introduction of chervonets money circulation was stabilized right away and galloping inflation was eliminated.

Today we are in a qualitatively different situation. The levels of the economy are not comparable. I do not foresee substantial losses from such a step, but the gain would be real.

[Korobov] How do you combine the line of integration and creation of a united market with the present state practice, when domestic markets are closed, that is, customs restrictions on the export of consumer goods from a number of CEMA members are becoming stricter?

[Yu. Shiryayev] Developed countries throughout the world, usually, show extreme interest in seeing to it that tourists buy more goods, and often offer a discount of up to 40 percent on exported goods. And this is much more profitable than export through foreign trade channels because the retail price with all its components is used here. For example, the price of our television set also includes its use charge and so on.

Not long ago we proclaimed the idea of establishing a united market of CEMA members in the future. Unfortunately, the closing of domestic markets to our own tourists was one of the first practical responses to it. From the point of view of the current situation, when there are shortages and the danger that the domestic market will be bare, in general, the adopted measures are justified.

To be sure, we do not search much for rational economic denouements. Undoubtedly, we could create the necessary barriers for—I would call it—a "wild" import, which often is of a speculative nature. For example, let us take our export of vast quantities of coffee and other goods to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

It is possible to regulate such trade and to do this on a very good economic basis. In particular, trade by catalogue is widespread in Western countries. The question arises as to who prevents CEMA countries from establishing an international firm, which would engage in this? The advantage is obvious: The unification of commodity resources of several countries, which ensures a fuller satisfaction of consumer demand within the framework of this system.

Such a firm could become a source for an initial accumulation of integration capital. Our institute analyzed the possible alternatives of settlements within CEMA. Settlements in a convertible currency can be partially made along the line of barter transactions. We also have certain categories of refrigerators, which are not produced, but are in demand, in the West. There are niches, which we could fill completely.

Having established a large transnational trade firm, we could move integration to one of the main areas—the social area. Of course, I do not consider this the only way, rather an example of an economic, not administrative, approach to the solution of problems. For the time being, we are waging a "strange" customs war, where, instead of bans on import, bans on export are being introduced.

In my opinion, the establishment of such a firm, in whose activity cooperatives could also participate, is not a bad denouement of the present tangle of customs problems. The fundamental task—leveling the glut in the domestic markets of our countries—would also be accomplished here. This is also the prerequisite for the elimination of defects in price formation.

[V. Sychev] The proposal by Yuriy Semenovich needs an explanation. The point is that the establishment of a united market presupposes primarily the elimination of the shortage of goods. Only the elimination of the commodity shortage will preclude the danger of an appearance of tension on the domestic market of one country as a result of the possible outflow of goods for meeting the consumer demand in another country. Incidentally, not only the physical shortage or complete absence of goods of an appropriate assortment, but also the difference in the levels and structures of prices formed in CEMA countries, can be the reason for such a "pumping."

[Yu. Shiryayev] To make some restrictions for several months, but during this time to simply increase production, is the simplest economic solution. This is a very profitable income item. World practice shows that it is five times easier to earn currency in tourism than in foreign trade. Everything should be done to increase these earnings.

Yes, we continue to proceed to new shortages. For example, let us take the problem of video equipment. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has purchased not a bad license and is quickly increasing the production of video tape recorders. We and other CEMA countries are doing the same. A complete subsistence economy! Moreover, we turn to the same firms in order to produce the same product.

Not long ago on television I heard comments by a political observer, who cited an example of video equipment production in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. He stated: Should we not look closely at this experience and follow our Czechoslovak friends? That is, an appeal was heard to invent a bicycle as fast as possible, dissipating funds, owing to which we will never achieve not only integration, but even a simple satiation of national markets.

Or an example with radio equipment, which operates with laser disks. We have two plants—in Tallinn and near Novosibirsk. Together they produce almost one-half of the equipment produced at a similar plant in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Where is economic rationality here?

There is an urgent need for the establishment of large scientific and technical associations. Believe me, this is not megalomania, not a survival of old thinking. There is a need for large socialist corporations, which, uniting scientific, technical, and production capacities, in fact, could make a breakthrough into the world market. Practice shows that a firm position on the world market is a minimum of 5 percent of the market of appropriate articles—a gigantic scale for us.

The modern capitalist market is completely controlled by transnational corporations. When attempting to enter the world market, an individual enterprise will not be able to compete. At best it will be able to sell small batches of products at low prices from time to time.

For example, let us take the motor vehicle industry of CEMA members. Summing up everything, you will get the scale of by no means the biggest individual firm in the West. We produce a mass of models, but the series are such that it is impossible to establish a serious scientific-design base and to carry out developments at the level of world standards.

Therefore, we must strive for the establishment of international socialist economic associations on a voluntary basis, whose level would make it possible to avoid an endless dissipation of energy and funds, which has lasted throughout the 40-year history of CEMA.

We have sectors, which have long been ready for transnationalization within the CEMA framework. Here we must work and reach a qualitatively new level of cooperation and specialization, supply our countries, and enter the world market.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefings

Denies Missile Modernization

LD1402135789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1301 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow 14 Feb (TASS)—Contrary to claims being made by some NATO figures, the Soviet Union is not modernizing its tactical nuclear missiles, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing held here today.

"Moreover," he went on, "we believe unambiguously that modernization of nuclear missiles is a step backwards rather than forwards. Therefore, any future developments on modernization depend on our Western counterparts. Clearly, a unilateral course of action presupposes multilateral restraint in return."

By unilaterally cutting its armed forces and by expressing a readiness to eliminate imbalances and asymmetries and to withdraw from its military arsenals offensive types of conventioanl weapons considered the most destabilizing, the USSR is essentially undermining those arguments on which the need for NATO to have tactical nuclear weapons are based, said Vadim Perfilyev. "I would also like to draw attention to the fact that tactical systems capable of employing nuclear weapons, including tactical missiles, will also be among the troops and weapons which are being cut unilaterally."

The future reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, which ought to lead to the complete equalization of both alliances' military potentials at the minimum level required for defense, remove any grounds for the retention of tactical nuclear weapons in NATO and Warsaw Pact arsenals. "It is for this reason," stressed the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, "that we are witnessing such activity on the part of those people who would like to involve NATO in modernizing these means."

The Soviet Union believes that the talks on cutting conventional armed forces in Europe, which are to start this March, will also create the prerequisites for a serious dialogue on tactical nuclear weapons," said Vadim Perfilyev.

On U.S. Defense Spending

LD1302153189 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The U.S. Administration's proposal to hold military expenditures in the 1990 fiscal year to levels of the 1989 fiscal year in real terms cannot but evoke certain concern on part of the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told reporters that this proposal means that the trend toward reduction, although insignificant, of the U.S. military budget in real terms, which has been shaping up in the past several years, has been checked.

"This concern is well-grounded, especially as President George Bush in his speech at a joint congressional meeting spoke about an 'active pursuit of the Strategic Defence Initiative' as one of the administration's priorities in the military-political sphere," the spokesman went on.

At the same time, Perfilyev said, the President expressed the intention of his administration to build on the progress achieved in relations with the Soviet Union after the United States completes the agenda regarding its foreign policy priorities in three months.

"The Soviet Union welcomes statements of the new U.S. leadership about its intention to continue seeking better relations between our countries and fill the principle of constructive continuity in politics with real content," Perfilyev said.

Shevardnadze To Visit Near East

LD1302141688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1324 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, will visit a number of countries in the very near future, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, reported at a briefing here today.

He noted that the minister is to visit Syria 17-19 February, Jordan 19 February, Egypt 20-22 February, Iraq 23-25 February, and Iran 25-27 February.

The visits, Vadim Perfilyev said, will be held in the framework of the efforts which are being made by the USSR over many years with the aim of a comprehensive and just Near Eastern settlement, taking into account the interests of all the countries involved in the conflict. "We are striving to achieve tangible progress in resolving this conflict, which is the oldest regional conflict, and in ensuring that the Arab people of Palestine have legal rights. We still believe that an international conference on the Near East would be the most effective means to make real progress along this path."

Of course, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, during the visits questions concerning the final settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, and everything connected with the settlement of the Afghan problem will also be discussed, as well as questions concerning the further development of bilateral relations between the USSR and each of the countries.

On Cruise Missile Tests, Afghanistan

LD1302171189 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and Iran from February 17 to 27, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters Monday.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said these visits will be part of the Soviet Union's consistent efforts to achieve a comprehensive and just Middle East settlement that would meet the interests of all conflicting sides.

Commenting on the Canadian Government's decision to provide its territory for the testing of a new U.S. air-launched cruise missile, developed on the basis of the "Stealth" technology, Perfilyev said that "this decision is regrettable as it is not in line with the healthy trend, gaining momentum in the world now, toward the curtailment of the arms race".

On the Soviet research ship *Akamedik Mstislav Keldysh*, impounded by Sierra Leone authorities in the port of Freetown and released on February 11, the Soviet spokesman said that "we regret to say that the authorities in Sierra Leone have failed to provide evidence that the Soviet ship violated the rules of entry into the port of Freetown".

Perfilyev described as inhuman the actions of Western countries, Pakistan and the irreconcilable opposition which seek to overthrow the incumbent regime in Afghanistan through an economic blockade at a time when Soviet troops are completing their withdrawal from the country.

He cited acts of sabotage. Irreconcilable opposition groups regularly attack and plunder U.N. caravans of trucks carrying food, medicine and other necessities for Afghans.

The crews of Egyptian and Turkish airliners, which were carrying U.N. relief aid to Afghanistan, made a stopover in Islamabad and refused to fly on to Kabul after receiving threats that they will be shot down by mujahidins while approaching the Afghan capital.

Afghanistan's Ambassador to the Soviet Union Sayyed Muhammad Ghulabzoy told reporters at the news briefing that the opposition, especially extremists, is ready not only to continue the bloodshed but even divide Afghanistan to achieve its goals.

The ambassador said that while Afghanistan and the Soviet Union fully abide by their commitments under the Geneva accords, Pakistan and the United States are in constant violation of them.

He also said progressive patriotic forces have enough strength to preserve Afghanistan as a non-aligned, neutral and independent country in the present and future.

CSSR Prime Minister To Visit

LD1302145289 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec will make an official friendly visit to the USSR later in February, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman announced at a briefing here on Monday.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told newsmen that the sides would discuss topical issues of developing Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

They will give special attention to prospects of economic interaction and perfection of its structure, improvement of exported product quality and introduction of more progressive forms of cooperation, ecological problems.

"Naturally, the talks will cover issues of perfecting contacts between our countries in the field of science and culture, that can boast having rich experience and long-standing traditions," Perfilyev added.

Joint efforts towards advancing the idea of "common European home" and creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security amounted to a weighty contribution to vigorous Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the international arena.

"The Soviet Union highly assessed Czechoslovakia's decision to reduce the Czechoslovak People's Army, arms and organisational structures within the Army, which constitutes a specific step on the part of the friendly country towards enhancing the level of security in Europe, implementing the initiative on establishing zones of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member countries," Perfilyev stated.

USSR-PRC Letter on Cambodia Sent to UN

LD1402091789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0449 GMT 14 Feb 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—The Soviet and Chinese ambassadors to the United Nations, Aleksandr Belonogov and Li Luye, have sent their joint letter to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar informing him about the results of a meeting between their respective foreign ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen in Beijing on February 5, from which a joint Sino-Soviet announcement on the solving of the Kampuchean problem was issued.

Having included in their letter the full text of the announcement, in which the two sides emphasize the role of the United Nations in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem and confirm their seeing Kampuchea as an "independent, peaceful, neutral and nonaligned country," the two ambassadors urge the U.N. secretary general to forward their letter as an official document to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

*1989 Schedule for World Exhibitions Detailed

WA18250074 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by R. Syurbis, chief of the USSR VDNKh Foreign Relations Administration: "The World's Flags Here"]

[Text] In 1989, the USSR VDNKh [Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy] will participate in the preparation of Soviet exhibitions for seven international expositions.

The first one ("Rail Transport") will open on 24 May and last until 2 June. Traditionally, the exhibition is set up in pavilions and in the experimental ring of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of rail transportation in the suburban Moscow village of Shcherbinka. The Soviet exposition will present modern locomotives and cars, as well as individual elements of their construction, the structure of the power plant, automation, telemetry, communications and computer technology, construction machines and mechanisms, repair and route maintenance, technological systems of subways....

The stalls of the Soviet section of the "Metal Working 89" exhibition contain over 500 separate exhibits. It is anticipated that our guests will also display interesting technology systems, flexible production modules and systems, processing centers, automatic and semiautomatic machines of various technological purposes, progressive instruments and apparatus and many other products. The exhibition will be open 30 May-8 June.

An international look at "Glass Science 89" will be held in Leningrad 30 June-7 July. Apparatus for the research and production of glass will be widely displayed here, as well as automated systems of control of processes of glass-heating technology through use of modern computers and microprocessors, and other technology applied in glass production.

The specialized exhibition "Machines and Equipment for Transport Construction"-"Transtroymash 89" will open to visitors on 4 July. Visitors to this review can familiarize themselves with models of machines and equipment used in the construction of basic transport projects: railroads, maritime wharves and ports, highways, and airport runways.

The "Interbytmash 89" exhibition will take place 9-16 August. Many will find it interesting for it will display various furnishings and communal equipment.

The exhibition "Machines, Equipment, and Apparatus for the Forest, Cellulose-Paper and Wood Finishing Industries" ("Lesdrevmash 89") will attract the interest of specialists. It will be held 13-22 September.

And finally, one more review of the year: "Automation 89," (from 28 November to 7 December).

At the exhibitions, one may learn about concrete joint developments, about cooperative links on a balanced foundation, and about the creation and activities of joint enterprises in the USSR with the participation of Soviet organizations and firms of foreign countries.

United States & Canada

Baker NATO Tour, Differences With FRG Viewed

LD1302221389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Program conducted by Viktor Levin]

[Text] [Levin] I would like to dwell on the tour of NATO countries by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The schedule for this trip is extremely intense: In the space of 1 week Baker is to visit 15 states. He has already been to Canada, Iceland, and Britain. Today he ended his visit to the FRG. Before Baker's departure on this tour, his assistant, Ridgway, speaking at a news conference, said that there was no definite agenda for the coming talks and that, in the main, general problems of the North Atlantic alliance would be handled. However, Ridgway added, questions of East-West relations and problems of arms control would be the main issues.

Since Baker has already visited two such key NATO countries as Britain and the FRG, I think we can at least preliminarily talk about what the new U.S. secretary of state has arrived in Western Europe with, and how he has been received there. My colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, will help me sum up these first results.

[Ptashnikov] I think Baker himself replied to the question of what he has come to Europe with when he spoke at Ottawa airport before his departure for Iceland. The main aim of the trip, he said, is to explain to our U.S. allies the main directions of the new U.S. Administration's foreign policy, and to assure them that, before making any important decision, the White House would, without fail, consult them.

[Levin] Incidentally, in that statement Baker described the general outlines of these directions of the Bush government's foreign policy activity, in particular its attitude to NATO.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, in Baker's words, the whole activity of the new U.S. Cabinet will be inseparably linked with NATO. And he named the following four as the main principles of this activity: U.S. adherence to the cause of maintaining its military, while, at the same time, conducting a dialogue with the East, principally with the USSR; its readiness to play a constructive role in the settlement of regional conflicts; its recognition of the importance of collective action on problems of the environment, narcotics, and terrorism; and finally, the White House's adherence to a free trade policy.

[Levin] This, so to speak, is the luggage with which Baker has set out for the NATO countries. But he also has empty briefcases. As he himself stated, the aim of his trip is not only, and even not so much, to speak himself as to listen to the U.S. allies, to obtain information from them, and to learn about their views. So let us now speak about the positions of the U.S. NATO partners. About their positions, to be more precise, since we are talking about various countries, we will begin with Britain, which has long been official Washington's probably closest friend.

[Ptashnikov] Judging by what British Prime Minister Thatcher said after her meeting with Baker, these close Anglo-American relations will continue.

[Levin] We will see.

[Ptashnikov] Anyway, that's what Thatcher said. She added, incidentally: We will be able to work on the same friendly level as we did during Reagan's time. Thatcher also stated that in the talks with Baker the sides reached agreement on all questions discussed, both military and international.

[Levin] This seems to mean that Britain has also confirmed its agreement with the plans to modernize NATO's nuclear potential, that is, its tactical nuclear missiles. But one of the aims of Baker's visit is to elucidate the attitude of the European allies toward these plans.

[Ptashnikov] You're right. But whereas the United States hadn't, or hasn't, any particular problems with Britain on this issue, the situation with the FRG is more complex. According to reports from Bonn, the plans to modernize the tactical nuclear weapons also occupied a significant position in Baker's talks with West German Foreign Minister Genscher and Chancellor Kohl. Unfortunately, we have no information on where these discussions led.

[Levin] I think Kohl's position is sufficiently well-known. It is no coincidence that literally on the eve of Baker's arrival he spoke in detail in an interview with one of the British papers about his view of this problem, and he said in particular that the FRG Government would not adopt a final decision on the question of modernizing intermediate-range nuclear missiles [as heard] earlier than 1991.

[Ptashnikov] That's precisely what I meant, by the way, when I said that the situation with the FRG is somewhat more complex.

[Levin] Yes. This postponement can be explained. And I wish to stress that it is a postponement of the adoption of a decision, and is not related to it necessarily being a positive one; it could be a negative decision. The postponement is related to the Bundestag elections scheduled for 1990. The government clearly doesn't wish to associate itself in advance with military obligations that are absolutely unpopular among the electorate.

Bush, Advisers Confer on U.S.-Soviet Problems

*PM1302184589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 89 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Meeting With Sovietologists"]

[Text] New York, 13 Feb—U.S. President George Bush met Sunday in Kennebunk Port (Maine), where he was spending his weekend, with a group of U.S. academics and specialists on problems of relations between the USSR and the United States. According to White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, the meeting lasted about 2 hours and was in the nature of a free discussion of a broad range of problems.

G. Bush's meeting with specialists on the Soviet Union took place at a time when the administration is engaged in a detailed study of U.S. policy in the national security sphere and of the status of Soviet-U.S. relations. A report analyzing the situation in this field is to be submitted to the President by the National Security Council within the next 90 days.

Bush Says Aid to Afghan Rebels Will Continue

*PM1302130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report under general heading: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] New York, 11 Feb—Citing high ranking representatives of the U.S. Administration, THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported today that President Bush "has in fact decided to continue military aid to the Afghan opposition as long as the present Kabul government remains in power." The recommendations of foreign policy advisers to continue this aid were accepted by Bush, according to the newspaper, at a session of the National Security Council on Friday morning, before the President's visit to Canada.

The program for military aid to the Afghan opposition, THE NEW YORK TIMES recalls, is coordinated and guided by the CIA and the Pentagon. Last year the volume of this aid was $600 million. According to the newspaper, the United States is in particular supplying the antigovernment formations with "Stinger" missiles, firearms, and other types of weapons.

U.S. Called Upon To Reduce Trade Curbs

*PM1402112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Aleksandr Lyutyy "Viewpoint": "Not Dictating But Trading"]

[Text] Charles Vanik, a well-known Democratic congressman in the past who has worked in a Washington legal practice the last few years, has returned to the political foreground. He has caused a small sensation in the U.S. capital. In a letter to Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, Vanik recommended striving to repeal—as yet temporarily, for 5 years—the legislative amendment adopted by Congress in 1974 that deprived the USSR of "most favored nation status" in trade and economic relations with the United States.

The sensation has been caused by the fact that it was Vanik, together with the late Senator Jackson, who was the author and at the same time the main expediter of this amendment. He has now given up, albeit not completely, his former position. Why? In his letter to Bronfman the former congressman justifies the need to revise the statutes by the Soviet leadership's new policy, pointing out the following: "I hope that my support for changes in U.S. legislation will help develop those phenomena that are being observed today within the Soviet Union."

Vanik sees the new phenomena above all in the legal sphere and, in particular, on questions of emigration and reuniting families. Yet the amendment which erected virtually insuperable tariff barriers to our exports to the United States and deprived our country of preferential loans was introduced on the grounds that the USSR "restricted" emigration.

Interference in the internal affairs of other countries always merits condemnation. I regard Jackson-Vanik's actions as being such interference.

As for the reforms being implemented in our country in the humanitarian and legal spheres, they are no concession to Vanik or anyone else in the West. We ourselves have won the process of democratization and this has been brought about primarily by the internal requirements of Soviet society.

Nonetheless I don't think that the aspect of emigration is the only reason for Vanik's return to his own amendment. The point is that the impatience and dissatisfaction of business circles with the fact that they encounter political obstacles in the way of fully developing trade with the USSR is all too perceptible in the United State today. At a time when the restructuring of the economic structure, including the USSR's foreign economic ties, has provided unprecedented opportunities in this sphere for foreign partners and when West European and other companies are making increasingly active use of these opportunities, American business felt as if it were on the sidelines. The U.S. share of the USSR's foreign trade continues to amount to only approximately 1 percent and the USSR's share of the United States' foreign trade to only 0.5 percent. "If U.S. entrepreneurs decide to sit idle during this initial phase," the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL, the U.S. business circles' newspaper, warned, "they may be overtaken at subsequent stages not only by the FRG and Japan, but also by China, Israel, India, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico."

Of course, there are also difficulties on the path of broadening trade exchange on our side. They include the poor competitiveness of many types of Soviet output, bureaucratic red tape, and the hidebound nature of our market. But the problems would be overcome much more successfully if the political stumbling blocks were removed —above all the Jackson-Vanik amendment and the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM] lists that ban the export of many types of contemporary high-tech output to socialist countries.

Before handing over power, former Secretary of State Shultz advocated removing some discriminatory restrictions on trade with the USSR. Although it has begun to review its position, the new administration is as yet taking its time, using the word "caution" most frequently. However, both businessmen and many congressmen believe that delay may be considerably detrimental to the United States itself. Concrete steps toward removing the restrictions can be expected on Capitol Hill in the next few months.

A word about something else. I think that there are fewer and fewer people in America who share the misgivings of those Sovietologists who say that an economically stronger Soviet Union will threaten U.S. interests and show aggression. Therefore, trade and financial cooperation with it are a risky business. There are far more people who realize that economic collaboration not only brings concrete advantage to both sides but also strengthens their security. If only because, as J. Naisbitt, the author of "Megatrends" wrote, "If we are adequately interconnected economically, we will probably not wipe one another off the face of the earth with our bombs."

Shevardnadze Meets U.S. Jewish Leader, Businessman

LD1302171788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, today received Edgar Bronfman, a prominent representative of U.S. business circles, head of the Seagram Corporation, president of the World Jewish Congress [WJC], who is in Moscow, at the latter's request.

Edgar Bronfman said that the processes of restructuring and democratization in the USSR evoke a positive response among the American public. He said that the organization he heads intends to facilitate a further improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States. Eduard Shevardnadze supported this intention, having emphasized the great role played by public circles in the strengthening of trust and mutual understanding between peoples.

In connection with the issue of settling the Near East conflict, touched on by Edgar Bronfman, the Soviet side noted that new approaches to regional conflicts are gaining a firm foothold in the world community, and that an understanding of the uselessness of solving them by methods involving the use of force is gaining strength. The momentum which has begun in this area also encompasses the Near East, where certain hopeful changes for the better have recently appeared. The question of convening an international conference with the participation of the permanent UN Security Council member states, including direct participation of the interested parties, is assuming practical dimensions. It is our conviction, Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized, that the time has now come to take urgent steps to reach a stage of specific preparations for this conference. The USSR is willing to hold active interaction and cooperation with all those who strive to make their own, constructive contribution to this. Edgar Bronfman expressed gratitude for the explanations received.

Pentagon To Supply New IFF System to NATO

LD1302140488 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 13 TASS—According to an official U.S. Defence Department representative, the American Air Force has signed a contract with two leading corporations producing radio-electronic equipment for a new Pentagon identification system "friend-foe" [identify friend or foe; IFF].

This contract, worth 162 million dollars, envisages development by Allied-Signal Aerospace Incorporated and Raytheon Manufacturing Companies of a modern radar system which will be more effective in identifying home and foreign air objects. The system, codenamed "Mark 15", will be deployed on 70 types of American aircraft, American ships and air-defence systems.

The Pentagon representative also said that the new system is destined to replace the present "Mark 12" system, which has a number of shortcomings, and will be supplied to the armed forces of some U.S. allies, including Great Britain, West Germany, Italy and France. The new "Mark 15" system will be developed by the end of 1992, according to preliminary estimates.

New Reference Book About U.S. Published

LD1302021889 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] A new reference book has been published in the Soviet Union entitled THE UNITED STATES TODAY, compiled by a group of leading Soviet experts on various aspects of American politics, economy, and culture. The book contains a wealth of varied information on contemporary American life, the landmarks of American history, the country's administrative structure and territorial division, its political system, social and foreign policies, health care, media, and sport. The readers will find useful biographical data on famous Americans including George Bush, Ronald Reagan, Isaac Asimov, John Updike, Gus Hall, and Benjamin Spock.

Northeast Asia

Navy's Kuzmin Defends Joint DPRK Exercises
OW0902121989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 6 Feb 89

[From the "Peace and Disarmament" program; interview with Vice Admiral Anatoliy Kuzmin, deputy commander-in-chief of the USSR Navy, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given—read by announcers]

[Text] [Female announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, in the proposals concerning Asian security advanced by General Secretary Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, those for reduction of naval activity in the Pacific Ocean take up an important place. In this connection, a radio reporter met with Vice Adm Anatoliy Kuzmin, deputy commander-in-chief of the USSR Navy, to ask him relevant questions.

First, in answer to a question concerning Western reports that the number of warships of the Soviet Pacific Fleet has increased in recent years, Vice Adm Kuzmin said as follows:

[Male announcer] I have no intention to closely scrutinize figures, but it is safe to say that U.S. Government data on the number of Soviet Pacific Fleet warships are intentionally exaggerated. In reality, the number has been reduced by 57 in the last 4 years.

In the final analysis, naval power is not determined by the number of warships or aircraft alone. It is influenced by many factors, including armed equipment, the degree of development of the basic system, and armed equipment and structure.

Since approximately half of the Soviet Pacific Fleet submarines are [word indistinct] propelled, their action radius and independent cruising range are limited, while many of the surface ships are small antisubmarine boats and minesweepers. Their mission is to maintain defense in coastal waters.

The Pacific Fleet's organization includes 2 warships capable of carrying 30 airplanes, but this can absolutely not be compared to the 7 aircraft carriers the United States deploys in the Pacific. These aircraft carriers carry a total of more than 600 aircraft, with 250 of them capable of carrying nuclear arms. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union has no battleships.

This comparison sufficiently clarifies matters, but it is necessary to determine other factors of naval fighting potential such as common concepts and criteria of evaluation, which make it possible to compare and check between the two sides.

[Female announcer] Next, a Naval command representative has stressed over and over again that the Pacific Fleet's military offensiveness [gunjiteki sekkyokusei] has been reduced in keeping with the new Soviet defense doctrine. In what form has this found expression in concrete terms?

[Male announcer] First of all, it finds its expression in the fact that naval exercises have not been conducted outside coastal waters in the Sea of Japan and the Okhotsk Sea. Exercises in the Pacific have been carried out in the sea off the Soviet Kamchatka Peninsula and the waters adjoining its coast. Soviet aircraft and warships have not conducted training in striking at objectives in the territory of other countries. All these exercises have been exclusively defensive in nature.

[Female announcer] The Soviet Union has begun scrapping its intermediate-range missiles deployed in its Asian region. But will this not lead to a corresponding nuclear arms buildup of the Pacific Fleet?

[Male announcer] The scrapping of intermediate-range missiles in the Soviet Asian region naturally increases the relative importance of the Pacific Fleet's nuclear arms in the overall balance of the Soviet strategic nuclear force. In the case of the Asian and Pacific region, this is more so because the scrapping of Soviet missiles is virtually unilateral in nature.

The United States has not reduced the number of its nuclear arms delivery vehicles in the Pacific region, whereas the Soviet Union suspended the nuclear arms buildup in the Asian and Pacific region even before starting to scrap its intermediate-range missiles. Therefore, the number of nuclear arms in the Pacific Fleet has not increased, nor will it increase in the future.

As General Secretary Gorbachev definitely stated in his Krasnoyarsk speech, we will not build up our nuclear arms in Asia in the days ahead. It is now the United States' and other nuclear powers' turn to take due action.

[Female announcer] Vladivostok has become a city where Soviet citizens can freely visit, and foreigners can visit there, too. In this connection, some Western journalists say the naval base in Vladivostok might be moved somewhere else.

[Male announcer] It may take more time for everyone to become accustomed to the fact that even Soviet military personnel have become more open than before. The concept of glasnost—openness—is not an abstract one for us military personnel if it is directed at strengthening confidence.

One thing we find hard to understand is that when Soviet Defense Minister Yazov invited the foreign press corps to a Soviet strategic missile base, no one asked if that base would not be moved elsewhere.

Your question reminds me of the Soviet Navy main staff's initiative to invite Western observers to a Baltic Fleet exercise. We extended the invitation, but Western representatives did not come. There might have been some people who were perturbed by the fact that they would have to reciprocate—in other words, they would have to invite Soviet observers to a NATO exercise. Observers can find out a lot more than what is reported by radio, television, or newspapers.

We advocate trust in the military sphere. We do so because the more trust is built, the less room there will be for speculation or suspicion about Soviet forces. Nevertheless, such speculation or suspicion occurs not necessarily by accident or out of indiscretion. It was not Navy personnel who designated Vladivostok an off-limits city, nor was it they who lifted the restrictions. I think it is not necessary to move the naval base elsewhere.

[Female announcer] What do you think about the prospect of the navies of the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States, and other nations in the region developing direct exchange with a view to strengthening trust in the military sphere?

[Male announcer] Regrettably, up to this point there has been no direct exchange between representatives of the various fleets in the Pacific. However, all things considered, I think such an exchange should not be ruled out. To establish mutual confidence between the Soviet Union and the United States, the two countries are scheduled to conduct exchanges in the near future at the two countries' navy command level. For instance, the U.S. chief of naval operations is scheduled to visit the Soviet Union this year, and the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy is scheduled to go to the United States in the summer of next year. We hope such exchanges will further expand, and not be limited to the Soviet Union and the United States only.

[Female announcer] What do you think of the various fabricated stories circulated by the military in the United States and Japan about Soviet-DPRK joint naval exercises?

[Male announcer] The Soviet Union and the DPRK, which border each other, are good neighbors bound by a friendly treaty based on reciprocity. In 1986 and 1988, the Soviet and DPRK fleets exchanged official friendly visits to Wonsan and Vladivostok respectively.

Combat training against landing operations of aggressor nations are conducted jointly, from time to time, with warships of the Democratic Korean Navy.

This training is conducted for a short period of time, lasting about 1 day and night, in waters off the Soviet Union and Democratic Korea. It is conducted for limited, tactical, and purely defensive objectives. Exercises are conducted no more than once a year and the scale is very much limited. In other words, no more than five to seven combat ships participate in them from the Soviet side, and this number accounts for no more than between 20 and 25 percent of that of the Democratic Korean side.

At the same time, I must emphasize that in its scale and the number of participating troops, "Team Spirit," the annual joint exercise conducted by the United States and South Korea, is huge. In that exercise, training in offensive action is conducted and comprehensive training is carried out for strengthening the U.S. war potential in the Far East and carrying out combat action on the Korean peninsula and in the Sea of Japan.

I think it is needless to mention that the United States and Japan conduct large-scale joint naval exercises and that multipurpose aircraft carrier fleets and missile task forces of the United States enter the Sea of Japan and the Okhotsk Sea every year. These activities markedly heighten the tension in the Asia-Pacific region and naturally give rise to defensive reaction on the part of the nations in the region.

ROK Positions on Reunification 'More Realistic'

PM1302125789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by V. Osipov: "The Road to a Unified Korea. The Quest Continues for Ways of Uniting the Divided Country.]

[Text] The Korean issue has been waiting for a solution now for more than 40 years. And this despite the fact that both the DPRK and South Korea have more than once declared a desire to achieve the unification of the country by peaceful means and have put forward several dozen initiatives and proposals of various kinds. In 1972 they even adopted a joint statement setting out the principles for reunification of North and South Korea. But as yet no real progress has been made toward detente in the Korean peninsula.

Today the world situation is changing for the better. The new political thinking is making increasing headway, particularly with regard to unraveling regional conflicts. Recently both Pyongyang and Seoul have markedly accelerated their activity in the quest for mutually acceptable variants of inter-Korean discussions and the arrangement of a negotiating mechanism.

Both Korean sides have in fact already created a political base for organizing a multi-faceted peace dialogue. The DPRK put forward a comprehensive program of measures on the relaxation of tension in the peninsula.

Seoul's position on the Korean issue has also become more realistic. Of course, the new South Korean administration, headed by No Tae-u, is bound to take into account the positive processes taking place in the world and the population's desire for the country's unification. For their part, the Seoul authorities have proposed a number of new measures to normalize the situation in Korea and widen the spectrum of the inter-Korean dialogue. There was a positive world reaction to No Tae-u's statement that even before the adoption of a nonagression declaration South Korea will "never use force first against the North." A "Consultative Council for Exchanges and Cooperation" with the DPRK, with the participation of representatives of business circles, has been set up in Seoul, along with a government council that will have the job of resolving problems of relations between the South and the North.

At the moment Seoul rejects the possibility of discontinuing the U.S. military presence in South Korea. Moreover, the South does not want to abandon shows of force. So it has announced the start of the major U.S.-South Korean Team Spirit-89 maneuvers. At the same time, it must be realized that without discussing with Pyongyang questions of the reduction of tension in the peninsula, progress in inter-Korean dialogue is scarcely possible at all.

It is worth noting that Seoul has agreed to a meeting of the top leaders of the two parts of Korea. There are also signs of agreement on a question that has in the past evoked a negative reaction on Seoul's part: the holding of military political talks to discuss problems of eliminating confrontation between the North and the South.

Without considering mutual interests, the interests of the entire Korean people—and they, as is known, have always opposed confrontation between military forces—it will be impossible to move forward and seek ways and means of untying the intricate Korean knot. Dialogue—and dialogue alone—gives a real chance of a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Korean peninsula.

Soviet Scholar Interviewed on Trade With ROK

SK1302073989 Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 11 Feb 89 p 7

[Special interview with Vladimir Tikhomirov, professor at the USSR Academy of Sciences, by correspondent Hong Son-kun in Moscow; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Hong] What is your impression of the current development of Korea-Soviet economic relations?

[Tikhomirov] Currently in international relations, cooperation among nations, such as exchanges in trade or science, is becoming an objective law. Whether one desires it or not, nations continue to exist in that kind of cooperative relationship. Economic relations with Korea are being developed in this logical connection and in the long run it will be of great help for both sides.

[Hong] What do you think are some of the concrete details of Korea-Soviet economic relations?

[Tikhomirov] I believe the main arena will be in Siberia. Siberia is truly a place of boundless potential. In 1987 the Soviet Government established an ambitious 15 year development plan expanding to the year 2000 and recently is carrying out work to revise the plan more practically.

The Soviet Government hopes that NICS (Newly Industrializing Countries) will participate in this project. Some time ago there were movements for Japan to participate in this project, but those moves are now hesitant because of the problem of the four northern islands and because there is a big technological gap with Japan, which does not coincide with the reality of the Soviet Union.

However, I hope that people will discard the judgment that the development of Siberia itself is unpractical altogether. From that point I hope that many Korean entrepreneurs will visit Siberia without fail and confirm for themselves with their own eyes the potential.

[Hong] What do you mean by revising the plans? Does that mean to examine and improve the plan according to reality?

[Tikhomirov] In the 1987 plan, many scholars brought up issues criticizing it for laying too much emphasis upon developing resources and on the construction of the infrastructure. The scholars were also critical that there was too little importance placed on trade relations with foreign countries and that the connection with central Asia was too insufficient.

Therefore, beginning last year we started again with a revision and that work is still in progress. In particular, the revised plan will include not only a simple level of developing resources but of developing various machines, chemicals, and electronics to lure important frontier industry. Plans to attract this kind of frontier industry will especially present new potential for Korea.

[Hong] How much importance is the Soviet Union putting on the development of Siberia domestically?

[Tikhomirov] The basic aspect of perestroyka which has brought about an enormous change in Soviet society recently is praising the standard of living of the people up one level through the new economic theory internally. Externally it is to guarantee the security and peace of international society through cooperation with other nations. Siberia is very important internally and externally. For economic development in Soviet society, development of the Far East is especially essential in the development of Siberia.

Soviet economists estimate that the development of the Far East is an inevitable opportunity in the revitalization of the Soviet economy.

Also regarding the international aspect, economists hope that through the development of Siberia's Far East a large scale peace-zone can be established throughout the Asia and Pacific region, thus contributing to the security of the area.

[Hong] How will you raise the capital for development which amounts to 200 billion rubles?

[Tikhomirov] In principle it is to be raised within the country. A large amount of capital can be diverted to capital for the development of Siberia through the recent announcement made by General Secretary Gorbachev to reduce arms. Also there are plans to obtain foreign loans. In this case the plan is to explore cooperative avenues first, such as establishing joint venture businesses with foreign capital.

[Hong] It is being pointed out that there will be political restrictions as well as economic restrictions for Korean enterprises participating in the development of Siberia.

[Tikhomirov] The most important cardinal point in Gorbachev's foreign policy is that unlike the previous Soviet foreign policy which defined capitalist nations, including the United States and Japan, as the enemy to confront, it recognizes them as partners for cooperation and dialogue in international society. Proceeding from this stance, I may point out that economic cooperation with capitalist countries is not an antinomy to politics but is an outcome of the change in consciousness.

The international situation surrounding the Korean peninsula will also rapidly change. I believe that the contact between North Korea and the United States will be as active as that between South Korea and the Soviet Union. I understand that last year the North Korean Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam met with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Beijing and exchanged views of each side on the changes of the situation on the Korean peninsula including the change in South Korea-USSR relations, and that they examined the possibility of dialogue.

[Hong] Can you tell us more about the time of their meeting and detailed contents of their discussion?

[Tikhomirov] (Showing some embarrassment) I am not aware of the details. What I can tell you at this point is that the Soviet Union is hoping that with the realization of detente on the Korean peninsula, South Korea will advance to Siberia together with North Korea. I think it would be a good plan to jointly establish plants.

[Hong] What is your view toward the short-range prospect for the development of Siberia by the Soviet Union?

[Tikhomirov] The fact that the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] railroad, the second cross-Siberia railroad, is going to be completed within this year, will further accelerate the development of Siberia. The BAM merely linked between short distances in practice and thus the whole course remained unconnected in the past. In Siberia, the triangular area connecting Vladivostok, Nakhodka, and Khasan will be intensively developed.

I would like to reveal that the Soviet Union is planning to establish a course of study for entrepreneurs in the future. In the Soviet Union, the facts concerning entrepreneurs and their way of thinking and ability have not been known.

Therefore, lecturers will be invited from various countries including the United States to speak about entrepreneurs. Needless to say, the South Korean entrepreneurs and lecturers may come. I also hope that exchanges will occur with educational institutes in South Korea on the matter of entrepreneurs.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

CGDK Meeting With Sihanouk in Beijing Reported

LD1002174589 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 10 TASS—A meeting of the three Khmer opposition groups have been held here under the chairmanship of Prince Sihanouk. Its participants expressed their views of a Kampuchean settlement. The meeting passed a document which calls for full withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea within two months after the ceasefire between conflicting sides. It is necessary to envisage efficient international control with the help of the relevant UN mechanism.

The participants in the meeting proposed stage-by-stage reduction of military aid to four Kampuchean forces. Such aid, they believe, should be stopped right after the Vietnamese troops pull out from Kampuchea's territory.

The document proposes formation of a provisional quadripartite government of Kampuchea which is to organize free elections under UN supervision.

Soviet Diplomat in Thailand Defects to U.S.

BK1102020989 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 11 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Soviet Embassy official and his wife have sought asylum in the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok and wish to defect to the United States.

Dr Vladimir Zhila, 37, and his wife, Olga Zhila, 30, had been missing since Thursday morning after leaving the Soviet Embassy on Sathon Road for a medical check-up, informed police sources said.

Soviet Embassy Third Secretary Nikolay Serafin informed Yannawa Police yesterday that Dr Vladimir and his wife left in a cream-coloured Volga sedan, they said.

Mr Serafin told police the couple had said they were going for a check-up at Samitiwet Hospital, police said.

When they did not return, the embassy called the hospital to check but were told that no embassy official had made an appointment for a check-up that day.

Mr Serafin asked Yannawa Police around 10:30 a.m. yesterday to search for the couple, the sources said.

Yannawa Police refused to comment on the missing copule, although other police sources said the station had sent a "confidential" report to Police Chief Gen Phao Sarasin.

Police yesterday morning issued a city-wide alert for the Volga sedan, a standard Soviet-made car.

The sedan was found in the car park of the Imperial Hotel on Wireless Road and was returned to the Soviet Embassy, informed sources said.

A Soviet Embassy official confirmed that Dr Zhila and his wife were missing and that police had been asked to search for the couple.

The embassy official said the couple were newcomers to the embassy having arrived in Bangkok "towards the end of 1988."

Dr Zhila's duties were to provide medical care for embassy staff and their families.

The doctor and his wife are not listed among the 25 Soviet officials in the Foreign Ministry's 1989 diplomatic and consular representatives directory.

The couple have no children, the embassy official said.

Another Soviet Embassy source said Dr Zhila and his wife had been in Thailand since the middle of last year. He believed Bangkok was the doctor's first overseas posting.

Dr Zhila, who lived with his wife in the embassy compound, was not a "sociable fellow", the source said.

An informed diplomatic source said the Soviet couple had sought, and been granted, asylum in the U.S. Embassy.

The couple is still in Bangkok and has been issued with American passports after being questioned by U.S. Embassy officials, said the source.

Another government source said the couple stayed at the U.S. Embassy last night.

The government source was not certain when the couple would leave Bangkok but said it could be some time today or tomorrow.

The Soviet Embassy has asked the Foreign Ministry to act as an intermediary and to urge the U.S. Embassy not to comment on the case, the diplomatic source said.

Asked to comment, Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman Pratyathawi Tawethikun said he knew nothing about the defection.

U.S. Embassy spokesman Ross Petzing also declined to comment.

Late last month the U.S. granted asylum to a Soviet merchant seaman who junmped ship in Bangkok.

The seaman left Bangkok on January 25 after being paroled to the United States by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalisation Service.

The U.S. Embassy did not identify the seaman.

Burma's Political, Economic Situation Viewed

BK1102142289 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] A special day for Burma—Union Day—falls on 12 February. However, a study of reports from Rangoon shows that the situation in the capital, as well throughout the country, cannot be described as one befitting the eve of a special national day. Manifestations of the continuing economic hardships are evident despite efforts by authorities to restore the economy. Both local and foreign observers alike are especially concerned about inflation. According to news agency reports, the price of rice has increased five-fold and the price of cooking oil has increased three-fold compared to the period before the mass movements.

The military government has doubled the purchasing price for paddy to enable the state to procure paddy. However, this price is three times lower than the black-market price. The government is trying to relieve the problem of food prices by opening special shops to sell foodstuffs at reasonable prices. However, it is evident that these measures are not sufficient to substantially improve the distribution of foodstuffs to the public.

Soon after the 18 September coup d'etat, the European Common Market countries, the United States, and Japan suspended their annual economic aid to Burma worth $500 million. Furthermore, they rejected plans for a debt relief measure for Burma's $4 billion foreign debt. The plans were initially made following the UN declaration of Burma as a least developed country. Burma's external debt grows as its loans from the Western countries and Japan mature. REUTER News Agency reports that diplomats in Rangoon are concerned that economic deterioration in the country following the suspension of foreign assistance could make the Burmese people restless and lead to uncontrollable demonstrations.

However, the General Saw Maung government as well as opposition parties, which have pledged to solve Burma's problems through peaceful means, do not want such a development to take place. In particular, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, general secretary of the National League for Democracy [NLD], is working for democracy through peaceful means. Despite restrictions imposed by the military government, this party is carrying out organizational work. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is touring the country. About 150 people are busily working in the NLD's Rangoon office registering party members and scrutinizing party documents. According to some reports, the number of supporters for this party is approaching 5 million.

It has been over 40 years since General Aung San's historic speech was delivered at Panglong. The points contained in that speech are still valid today. He explained the need for national unity and the grave responsibilities of the people's representatives, who must choose a path of national development on behalf of the people.

Burma's political problems now depend on whether multiparty general elections will be held, and whether these elections will be fair if they are held. According to a REUTER report, U Nu has said that the military authorities will never hold elections and that they are only lying. Western observers are saying that it is up to General Saw Maung's government, which could hold elections in the shortest possible time if it wanted to.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who just toured the Irrawaddy division, has pointed out that the military authorities' actions in the division are not in accordance with Gen Saw Maung's pledge and that elections could not be held in that area. As for Gen Saw Maung, he is saying that elections will be held as soon as the situation allows. One common factor in all of these declarations is that it will be impossible to view a future for Burma without democratic changes.

Global political developments are also demanding such trends. In the present international climate, it has become crucial to have democracy in international relations. It has become necessary for all people to have the freedom to choose their own path, not to interfere in the affairs of sovereign independent states, and to give up all forms of external pressure. We can no longer consider a government that ignores democratic principles and human rights in its country participating in international cooperation based on democracy. The people are to march toward this truth according to their respective paths by understanding historic interests, pragmatically evaluating their current situation, and assessing past lessons.

It appears that the Burmese people are marching along this path. The observer notes that it is believed in the Soviet Union that the Burmese people will eventually achieve victory despite the difficulties and challenges they are going through.

Gusev Attends SRV Hydrostation Opening

LD0402215189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Construction of a multipurpose hydrosystem, unprecedented in Southeast Asia, began in Vietnam more than 9 years ago. The first unit has just been commissioned, and spending on construction will have been recouped shortly before the remaining units are commissioned. Here is a report from Vietnam:

[L. Krichevskiy, identified by caption] The Hoa Binh GES is being built on the Red River, a mere 70 km from Hanoi. It is a construction project of Soviet-Vietnamese economic cooperation. It was an exceptional day at the site today, one long awaited and prepared for. In the station's engine room, Do Muoi, chairman of Vietnam's Council of Ministers, and Gusev, head of the Soviet Government delegation, cut the traditional ribbon and hand over the symbolic key to the leaders of the construction site. Hoa Binh's first unit has been officially commissioned. This is an important event for the whole international collective.

Hoa Binh is of great significance for Vietnam. The further plans for the country's economic development and raising the population's material living standards are linked to this station. Once all eight power units are commissioned, electricity production in Vietnam will double. However, the significance of the Hoa Binh hydrosystem goes beyond this. It will save from flooding a large region in which roughly 15 million people live and in which millions of tons of rice are harvested.

Thousands of Vietnamese young people who have come here from villages have gained their first work experience in constructing the GES. This is good experience for Vietnam's engineers and technicians. Soviet specialists from almost every area of our country have worked at Hoa Binh at different times, and many specialists continue to work at Hoa Binh today. Great and very difficult work lies ahead.

In his speech at the meeting, Do Muoi placed great value on the significance of Soviet economic aid to Vietnam, and he warmly thanked the Soviet specialists for their internationalist contribution to developing Vietnam's power engineering.

[Video shows view of dam and river; opening ceremong with Do Muoi and Gusev cutting the ribbon and delivering the key; close up of Krichevskiy talking; view of surrounding area; young people with Hoa Binh arm badges; people at work; the speech by Do Muoi with jostling reporters and crowds, some in national dress, watching; Gusev alongside Do Muoi.]

Australian Ambassador Visits Kiev 6 Feb

AU1302111789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Feb 89 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 6 February V.A. Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary, received Charles Robin Ashwin, Australian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, who is in Kiev to familiarize himself with the life of the republic.

At the ambassador's request, V.A. Ivashko described the restructuring, democratization, and glasnost processes taking place in the Ukrainian SSR, and briefed him on the results of socioeconomic development scored in 1988 and the 3 years of the current 5-year period, and on the progress made in the preparations for and specific features of the coming election of USSR people's deputies.

In response to V.A. Ivashko's inquiry, C.R. Ashwin briefed him on the long-term strategy applied in Australia to improve the economy, with emphasis on the development of new technologies and equipment, and on the reorganization of the federal government's administrative and management apparatus.

Issues concerning Soviet-Australian economic and cultural cooperation and the role of the Ukrainian SSR in this were touched upon in the conversation. It was noted that the favorable changes and the new political thinking being consolidated in international relations were propitious for increasing mutual confidence and cooperation.

A.V. Merkulov, chief of the Foreign Relations Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Aquino Dismisses Philippines Coup Rumors as 'Lies'

HK1302050389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] President Corazon Aquino has assured the people of the Philippines that a threat against the country's political stability does not presently exist. The president labeled as lies the rumors that the far right is engaging in moves against the government or is preparing to mount another coup when she leaves to go abroad. President Aquino is due to go to Tokyo at the end of February to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

Westinghouse Bribed Marcos To Win A-Plant Job

HK1302034989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The Philippine Government has accused the American Westinghouse company of bribing former President Ferdinand Marcos in order to obtain a contract to set up an atomic power station near Manila. As is commonly known, the atomic station was set up in 1985; however, it is still not in operation. This is because of numerous deficiencies in the construction of the project, and also because the location of the plant is in a zone known to harbor major seismic activity. The Philippine Government has filed a suit in an American court asking it to nullify the Westinghouse contract.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Mideast Trip Confirmed, Previewed

LD1402113389 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visits to Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and Iran, scheduled for the second half of February, will be undertaken in keeping with the Soviet Union's consistent and many-years-long efforts to achieve an all-embracing and just Middle-East settlement.

The Soviet Union has always regarded the calling of an international conference on the Middle East as the most effective way to resolve this most dragged out regional conflict. Practically no one, except definite Israeli quarters, now disagrees that such a conference is the only realistic and dependable way to achieve an all-embracing and just settlement, which will give the Palestinian people a homeland, and the people of Israel alongside the Arab nations—durable peace and security. It will open the way to undelayed, purposeful bilateral and multilateral contacts to discuss key aspects of a Middle-East settlement, to work out mutually acceptable agreements on concrete ways of achieving it.

The decisions passed by the recent session of the Palestinian National Liberation Council in Algeria are regarded in Soviet diplomatic quarters as yet another step towards a just and lasting peace on the ancient soil of the Middle East. Now it is very important for all the sides concerned not to miss this unique chance, to discard stereotypes and prejudices and accept the offered olive branch of peace.

Bound to be discussed during Eduard Shevardnadze's trip will be questions of settling the Iran-Iraq conflict once and for all, of resolving all problems pertaining to the Afghan issue. Since the Soviet Union maintains relations with all the countries, which the foreign minister will visit, much attention will certainly be paid also to questions of further developing bilateral relations with them.

Soviet Afghan Pullout Reported on Schedule

Completion Expected in 'Hours'

LD1402075888 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Termez February 14 TASS—Only hours remain before the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be completed.

Up to two thousand servicemen and hundreds of combat vehicles pass every day through the 960-metre-long Amu Darya bridge linking the Afghan city of Hayraton and Termez in the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan.

Since the beginning of the second stage of troop withdrawal, more than 45,000 Soviet servicemen have left Afghanistan.

Today Termez welcomed back communications and logistical units.

Strictly in accordance with the Geneva agreements, the last Soviet soldier will leave the territory of Afghanistan by noon tomorrow.

'Last Soviet Soldier' Leaves Kabul

LD1302182389 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 13 TASS—Vycheslav Ryabinin has become the last Soviet soldier to leave the Afghan capital on Monday. Ryabinin served with a unit that ensured the safe landing and take-off of Soviet Ilyushin-76 planes that bring food to Kabul.

In preparation for departure, Soviet troops handed over the airport zone they protected to Afghan colleagues. After that the first group of officers and men, numbering 450, left for the Soviet Union on transport planes.

More than a hundred foreign correspondents witnessed the ceremony. They also had a chance to talk with the departing Soviet troops.

After a command, the last Soviet soldiers of the Kabul garrison scaled the ramp. Pte. Ryabinin waved his hand and the metal door of the plane was closed. The liner took off, heading for the Soviet Union.

Kabul Departure Reported

LD1302201188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the last Soviet subunit is leaving Kabul.

[Begin recording] [Shkirando] Today, Kabul airport looked very lively. Over 100 foreign correspondents alone gathered to see the departure of the last Soviet subunit. They represent major news agencies, radio, and television companies from all over the world. It was by no means a coincidence that the farewell ceremony of this subunit took place here, at Kabul airport. A great deal links our young men to it: the round-the-clock protection of the airport and its equipment, and the operational support for the taking-off and landing of military and civilian planes in far from straightforward circumstances. Recently, another duty has been added to these, a purely peaceful one. Almost everyday, they have helped distribute foodstuffs and necessities, brought here by Soviet transport planes, to inhabitants of the capital, who have encountered a food problem. I do not think this help will be forgotten by the thousands of women, elderly people, and children of Kabul. The last formation and the last report on the territory of Afghanistan.

[Shkirando] How many years have you served here: 1, 1 and 1/2, 2?

[Ryabinin] No, I have served 1 year and 4 months.

[Shkirando] Who is waiting for you back at home?

[Ryabinin] My mother and father and girlfriend, and, of course, my friends are waiting for me.

[Shkirando] Well, evidently, you will soon be among your near and dear ones.

[Ryabinin] Yes, that day is not far off, now; all the more so since we are now returning and then it will not be long until we go all the way home. [word indistinct].

[Shkirando] Have a good journey.

[Ryabinin] Thank you. [end recording]

[Video shows large group of correspondents and camera crews crowded around Soviet soldiers; various views of military planes; final report being given; interview with Ryabinin against background of plane with second military plane in distance; and soldiers boarding plane]

Troops Remain in Two Towns

LD1302180489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Report by "special correspondent" Vladimir Bezyayev from the Soviet border town of Termez]

[Excerpt] I said yesterday in this edition of "The Latest News" that our troops remain in only two Afghan provinces, and today I can say that our troops remain in only two Afghan frontier towns. They are the towns of Towraghoudi—it is a few kilometers from Kushka—and, opposite Termez, the town of Hayratan.

The rate of the withdrawal is this fast; and I can tell you that to date, around 40,000 Soviet servicemen have already been withdrawn. [passage omitted]

Troops Arrive in Termez

LD1302200489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is continuing. M. Ganiyev, special "Vremya" correspondent, reports from Termez:

[Ganiyev] A strong, cold wind has been blowing since morning at the border—the Afghan, as it is popularly known. A dust storm blows from the other side, hampering the column's movement. Keeping strictly to schedule, motorized infantry, members of airborne assault forces, and road workers are returning over the bridge to their own bank. Only a little time remains. It is only 2 days until the complete withdrawal of our soldiers from Afghanistan. Dusty and rejoicing, the guardsmen depart into the heart of the country. Many of them must still serve time in the Army, while those soldiers transferred to the reserve are flying out of Termez to their homes. Here, on the threshold of their homeland, each day they are met by mothers, wives, relatives. Among them are also veterans of the Great Patriotic War. [passage omitted]

[Video shows armored personnel carriers and trucks carrying soldiers; women with flowers; and veterans speaking to soldiers, giving them badges]

Afghan Rebel Attempts To Unify Unsuccessful

Main Groups Beginning To Splinter

LD1302130989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is coming to an end. The last Soviet unit should leave the country tomorrow, one day ahead of the schedule set at the Geneva talks. The Soviet Union is fulfilling the Geneva accords to the letter.

The same cannot be said, however, of the so-called irreconcilable opposition. It is again trying to set up a so-called provisional transitional government that excludes the People's Democratic Party, still the largest genuine force in Afghanistan.

UPI reports some of the details of the failure of the first attempt to convene in Pakistan a shura, a meeting of representatives of the irreconcilables. The point is that not only are there rifts between the irreconcilables based in Pakistan and those in Iran; the so-called Iranian Eight are demanding more places in the transitional government than the Pakistan Seven—the seven organizations of irreconcilables with their headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan—will promise. The mujahidin who have come from Iran are threatening to leave Rawalpindi. It is reported that Iran's Foreign Ministry is trying to lend a hand in settling the conflict. However, rifts have also appeared between the leaders of the seven armed groups in Peshawar. Three of them have formed a splinter group. The main reason for the schism in Peshawar is the question of who will head the transitional government. A new attempt to convene a shura will be made either today or tomorrow, depending on whether a compromise is reached.

'Deep Rifts' Growing

LD1302155789 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] London February 13 TASS—Deep rifts dividing the Afghan opposition have become even wider lately as the long-standing conflict between "mujahidin" field commanders operating in Afghanistan and their political leaders abroad has grown even deeper.

The contradictions have become so acute that they are no longer concealed by opposition members fighting the Kabul government.

'Abdul Haq, one of the more influential field commanders of rebel forces, was quoted by REUTER news agency as saying that Afghanistan's tragedy was being prolonged by squabbling politicians more interested in fame and fortune than in their country.

"After so much fighting, so much sacrifice, we military commanders could not just sit back and let the country die because the politicians cannot find unity," he said.

Haq suggested that military commanders might take matters into their own hands if the politicians failed to reach any specific agreement at a consultative council meeting, or shura.

The council, convened in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, had to delay the meeting immediately after the opening ceremony due to bitter confrontations among leaders of different opposition groups, each claiming the principal role.

Even the Pakistani press summed up the shura as an utter failure.

Boycott Threats Hang Over 'Shura'

PM1302165188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Review prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent A. Greshnov in Kabul: "Kabul Calls for Talks"]

[Text] The Republic of Afghanistan Government issued a statement on Sunday [12 February] calling on all commanders of armed opposition formations operating on the country's territory to establish direct contacts with representatives of the authorities in order to seek possible ways to end the bloodshed. The government is prepared to examine all viewpoints, suggestions, and demands and to make joint decisions on them via talks with the opposition.

At the same time the government declared that all questions concerning the Afghan people's future must be resolved in Afghanistan itself and not outside its borders. The absence of Soviet troops in the country makes it possible for the opposition to participate in a peaceful settlement. A continuation of the bloodshed in these conditions would no longer be a "holy war" but an extermination of Muslims by Muslims.

In contrast to the opposition's field commanders, many of whom are ready for talks, leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" continue to whip up tension. One of them, 'Abdul Haq, said in an interview with the U.S. NEWSWEEK magazine that "the main objective of the opposition is to overthrow the government immediately after the completion of the Soviet forces' withdrawal from Afghanistan." In another interview, this one with Britain's THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, the selfsame gang leader of the "implacables" pointed out that he would like first to achieve the capture of Qandahar and Jalalabad and only then to concentrate his forces around Kabul. The correspondent notes that 'Abdul Haq elaborates his plans on an IBM computer supplied to him from the United States, entering in it the names and addresses of thousands of "mujahidin."

"The United States," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, "has already supplied the opposition with arms worth more than $2 billion." A White House spokesman confirmed reports that President G. Bush has decided to continue providing military assistance to the Afghan opposition. In the newspaper's words, the United States continues to supply antigovernment formations with "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles, firearms, and other types of weapons.

New arms shipments would only add fuel to the fire of the fratricidal war in Afghanistan. But the opposition, no matter what assistance it receives from abroad, is incapable of capturing the Afghan cities, Afghanistan's Vice President 'Abdurrahim Hatif claims. In a telephone interview with British television he declared that the Afghan Army is loyal to President Najibullah. "Since 15 May of last year, when the withdrawal of Soviet forces began, the mujahidin have been unable to capture even a single provincial center of any significant size," 'A. Hatif said. "The only thing they have proved capable of is conducting guerilla actions and engaging in plunder."

The mujahidin have hitherto proved incapable of agreeing between themselves on the composition of the "shura" which was scheduled for last Friday [10 February] but was postponed due to the growing differences between the "Alliance of Seven" and the Shi'ite parties based in Iran. "On Friday Pakistani troops patrolled a locality near the Hajj complex in Rawalpindi where delegates had gathered," AFP reports. "Meanwhile, mujahidin in camouflage uniform and armed with automatic weapons mounted guard inside. Delegates were asked to leave their weapons upon entering. Approximately 300 journalists were allowed to spend about 10 minutes inside the building."

REUTER reports that Iran's Deputy Prime Minister 'Ali Reza Moayeri arrived in Islamabad in order to salvage the "shura," but prospects for reaching accord appear bleak.

The news agency reports that the moderate "Alliance" parties threaten to boycott the consultative council. Leader of "the Seven," S. Mujadeddi himself, declared at a news conference that until a solution is found, his party may join the boycott proclaimed by two other moderate groupings.

"Many Western experts say that a successful session of the council is extremely necessary in order to prevent bloodshed between rival insurgent groupings," THE WASHINGTON POST's correspondent reports from Islamabad. "Failure of the efforts to convene the 'shura' could deal a serious blow to the insurgents who plan an offensive against the besieged Kabul government."

During the visit by Pakistan's Prime Minister B. Bhutto to Beijing, PRC State Council Premier Li Peng gave special attention to the achievement of a political settlement in Afghanistan. He declared in particular that China is worried about the development of the situation in Afghanistan, where there is an emerging trend toward an outbreak of civil war, and emphasized: "We do not want the situation to deteriorate; we hope that a broad-based coalition government, acceptable to all sides, will be created and that peace will return to the country."

Meanwhile the situation in Kabul remains relatively calm, the TASS correspondent reports. The last Soviet soldier from the small contingent guarding the capital's airport will depart the city Monday [13 February]. The number of IL-76 aircraft flights have been reduced, and now the main hope for the city's food supplies rests with the Kabul-Hayraton "lifeline highway."

Another important event was the arrival in Kabul of a large number of members of armed opposition detachments operating on Afghan territory and of Afghans who have returned from the Iran-Iraq front. Now they are to be seen everywhere, dressed in civilian clothes but armed with automatic weapons. Many field commanders have responded to the government's call to establish direct contacts for the purpose of achieving national reconciliation. The basis for this was provided by the withdrawal of all our troops from Afghanistan.

Hikmatyar Seen Blocking Compromise

LD1402093589 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad February 14 TASS—A spokesman of the Afghan opposition "Alliance of Seven" has stated here that a meeting of the consultative council (shura), put off late last week, would open today. Local observers doubt this, however.

After the abortive attempt to convene the shura at Rawalpildi on February 10th, the leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" and the Iran-based "Alliance of Eight" did their best to remove the differences dividing them.

The reason of the conflict is that the "Alliance of Seven" leadership, above all of its extremist wing led by Hikmatyar, refuses to meet the "Alliance of Eight" demand to increase its representation of the council from sixty to one hundred delegates. The current chairman of the Peshawar Seven Sebghatullah Mujadeddi, who visited Iran early this month, has signed an agreement with the Afghan opposition in Iran, guaranteeing them one hundred seats in the consultative council. Pressured by extremists, however, the leaders of groups, making up the "Alliance of Seven," have declared this accord null and void. Several statements were made parallel with this on a possible pre-term removal of Mujadeddi, who represents a moderate wing of the Afghan opposition, from the post of chairman of the alliance. In reply to this, he has threatened to boycott the shura if representatives of the Afghan opposition in Iran did not attend it.

Local observers believe that Hikmatyar and his supporters are deadlocking the representation issue out of fear that they will be unable in this case to get a vote of confidence needed to form a so-called "provisional government" headed by Ahmad Shah. The Hikmatyar-proposed composition of the "government" is opposed by leaders of moderate groups from the Peshawar Seven, as well as by most of the opposition organizations active in the territory of Iran.

The visit paid to Islamabad by 'Ali Reza Moayeri, deputy prime minister of Iran, is regarded here as one more attempt to resolve the contradictions which have come to the surface in the camp of Afghan anti-government forces. He has brought a message from the president of his country to the Pakistani leadership.

One more attempt was made last Monday to call a meeting of the consultative council. Some 350 delegates gathered in the building, placed at their disposal by the Pakistani Government and heavely guarded by opposition militants, but failed to get down to work. A spokesman of the "Alliance of Seven" said that it was a "preparatory meeting."

'Shura' Power Struggle Viewed

LD1302212689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Text] Foreign news agencies reported today that the session of the consultative council, known as the shura, in which Afghan opposition groupings are taking part, has again been postponed indefinitely. I will point out that the shura, which opened last Friday in a suburb of the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi, had not lasted an hour before the Iranian wing of the Afghan opposition decided to boycott the shura. My colleague, Aleksandr Malikov, comments on the situation which has evolved in the camp of the irreconcilable Afghan opposition.

[Malikov] The sacred walls of the Muslim Hajj complex, where Pakistani pilgrims usually gather before they leave for Mecca, have failed to reconcile the representatives of the Peshawar Alliance of Seven and the Iranian Alliance of Eight. The reason for the discord turned out to be as much fundamental as prosaic. Even at the preliminary stage of the debate the participants in the shura failed to share power, and, moreover, strictly speaking, they still don't. The Shi'ite delegates who had come from Iran, for example, demanded 100 seats in the shura but were offered 20 seats fewer. They also differed on the composition of a caretaker government, which it is believed should be formed by the shura for a term of approximately 6 months. However, for the moment, feverish efforts are being made to get the Pakistani-Iranian part of the opposition to somehow come to an understanding. The Iranian deputy premier, who is carrying out his own kind of shuttle diplomacy between Tehran and Islamabad, has now joined in this. Furthermore, this question became the subject of a separate debate—armed at the highest level—in Pakistani Government circles. Despite this, no success in unifying the opposition has been achieved so far. Moreover, more and more cracks are appearing in its ranks. At least two very influential moderate groupings based in Pakistan have stated their readiness to support the boycott of the shura begun by the Iranian opposition wing.

There is another important point. Field commanders leading the combat operations in Afghanistan reacted with anger to the struggle for portfolios which has flared up. In an interview with REUTER, one of them—'Abdul

Haq—accused the opposition political leaders of being more concerned about self-publicity and the situation they have knocked together than about the country's future.

Indeed, the majority of the wealthy leaders of the Alliance of Seven, who have been living for the last 10 years in smart villas in suburbs of Islamabad or Peshawar, are still wet behind the ears. So for them the blood which continues to abundantly sprinkle the Afghan soil is a kind of abstraction. So it turns out that they easily place their own personal ambitions above the destiny of their compatriots who continue to bring more and more sacrifices to the altar of the civil war. It is precisely these people who persistently give the impression that the Kabul government does not exist and that the fall of Kabul is a matter of 2-3 weeks away.

I will not say here that, from the viewpoint of sober-minded observers, this is an illusion. I will point to something else. Those who have long been playing a direct part in the civil war are, in the majority, much more inclined to reach a compromise. Talks are already underway with some field commanders. I believe that many of them will give due consideration to the amnesty for representatives of the opposition which has once again been announced in Kabul, and also respond to the proposal to enter into direct talks without resorting to mediation by the State Commission for National Reconciliation.

This attempt to get down to solving the question of Afghanistan's future shows the flimsiness of the powers which the opposition has taken upon itself, insofar as in point of fact they have so far not been backed up by anything realistic. Indeed, one cannot claim to impose order and stability throughout the country if one is not able to achieve this in one's own ranks. One cannot count on any serious results by excluding the PDPA from a formula for a distribution of power. For this is the strongest and best organized force in Afghanistan today. At the same time it is clear that no one, apart from the Afghans themselves, can stop the bloodshed. No one can speak for them about restoring the long-awaited peace and harmony in the country. Every attempt to put the brakes on the beginning of an intra-Afghan dialogue can only be compared with the deferment of an operation, a deferment which can bring nothing to the patient but further suffering.

Soviet Food, Supplies Still Reaching Kabul

Planes Continue To Arrive

LD1402083689 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is to be concluded today. On Monday a group of paratroopers ensuring the security of Kabul's airport left for home. They were replaced by Afghan servicemen. In the meantime, Soviet planes delivering food and other basic consumer goods for the local population continue to land there. According to the news agency BAKHTAR, government troops have secured the passage of a column of Soviet trucks across the Salang Pass. The trucks brought to the Afghan capital wheat, rice and fuel. Another column is on the approaches to Kabul. A correspondent for the daily IZVESTIYA reports that the situation in Kabul is relatively calm. A great number of members of armed opposition units have arrived in the capital. Many field commanders responded to the government's call for starting direct contacts with a view to gaining national reconciliation.

Convoy Crosses Rebel Territory

LD1302171589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 13 February (TASS)—A convoy carrying food and fuel arrived in the Afghan capital today. The convoy, which broke through the Salang Pass, delivered wheat, rice, kerosene, and gasoline to the Kabul residents. It was only several days ago that the Salang highway was practically closed to motor vehicle traffic. Ahmad Shah Mas'ud's military units held sway along the route. After the Afghan military units struck at the enemy's concentration sites near the Salang Pass, a propitious opportunity arose to transport food and fuel, essential for Kabul, from Afghanistan's northern regions. According to a BAKHTAR agency's report, convoy traffic along the Kabul-Hayratan route will continue.

Convoys to Kabul To Continue

LD1402105189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 14 Feb (TASS)—On Monday a convoy of Afghan trucks arrived here with foodstuffs and fuel from the northern regions of the country. The vehicles, which had broken through via the Salang Pass, delivered wheat, rice, kerosene, and gasoline to the town. Some time ago, the Kabul-Hayraton route was constantly subject to attacks by the rebels from the group of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud. The operations conducted recently by Afghan Army units have significantly weakened the activeness of Mas'ud's fighters. As the BAKHTAR news agency has reported, the movement of convoys to Kabul from Hayraton and Mazar-e Sharif will continue.

In the past 24 hours formations of the irreconcilable opposition have once again carried out heavy shelling of Khost, where one civilian died and three servicemen were injured, as well as of a number of populated areas in the provinces of Paktia and Parvan.

As a result of strikes inflicted by the Afghan artillery on locations where the rebels are concentrated in Parvan Province, 15 extremists have been killed. Several arms and ammunition dumps have been seized. In Daman District Qandahar Province, 27 extremists have been annihilated. A terrorist group from the "National Islamic Front of Afghanistan" counterrevolutionary grouping has been liquidated in Nangarhar Province.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent to the UN Observer Mission in Kabul the 216th and 217th notes, in which new facts concerning gross violations of provisions of the Geneva accords are cited.

UN Suspends Aid Deliveries Due to 'Threats'

LD1302152589 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia February 13 TASS—According to reports reaching here, the United Nations Organisation has had to suspend the delivery of economic and humanitarian aid to the people of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Ethiopian air company, the plane of which brought 30 tons of food and medicines to Kabul at the end of last week, refused to make further flights to the Afghan capital. Earlier Egypt gave a negative reply to the UN request.

The threats and armed actions of the intransigent Afghan opposition, which pose a serious danger to air service between Pakistan and the Afghan capital, are the main causes of such situation. The supply of cargoes by land is also hampered. A UN convoy with food and medicines was attacked and fully plundered near Jalalabad last week.

Pakistani 'Confederation' Plans Viewed

LD1302162989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

"Ominous plans, aggressive aspirations." This is how Afghan President Najibullah described the designs of certain circles in Islamabad toward the neighboring sovereign country. The description is accurate, and the accusations are justified. After all, as was noted by Najibullah, at issue is the fact that the military and reactionary circles of Pakistan, under cover of the slogan "confederation," would like, in league with some of the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven," essentially to occupy Afghanistan, to annex it to Pakistan, to turn it into "its fifth province."

The existence of such plans explains a great deal. The reasons Islamabad is so persistently openly violating and trampling underfoot the commitments of the "Geneva package," which it signed, are becoming increasingly obvious. Also obvious is what price the so-called "irreconcilables" intend to pay for the massive military, financial, and political support with which their patrons supply them. It is a matter, no more and no less, of bringing to an end the glorious 5,000-year history of Afghanistan. It is precisely with this aim that attempts are currently being made to hold a so-called "consultative council" of opposition groups behind closed doors under the control of Pakistan's special services and military, and to set up a so-called "Islamic Afghan government" in accordance with the designs and will of Pakistan.

As might have been expected, President Najibullah's speech caused grave and quite understandable alarm among the international public. Nor could the Pakistani leaders "fail to notice" this speech. Speaking at a news conference in Beijing and referring to the issue of creating a Pakistan-Afghan confederation, the prime minister of Pakistan asserted that the question of creating a confederation with any country in the region had not arisen.

Well, let us take note of this statement. One cannot, however, fail to pay attention to another statement made by Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the town of Shikarpur on 6 February. Asked whether the idea of a confederation between an Islamic Afghanistan and an Islamic Pakistan—an idea General Ziaul Haq proposed in his time—is still a live issue, he answered: "Let Afghanistan first become an independent and nonaligned state again, and remaining matters can be resolved later." In other words, the existence of a plan for Afghanistan to join Pakistan, or, to be more precise, a plan for Pakistan to swallow up a neighboring sovereign country, not only fails to be rejected, but on the contrary the president is essentially making it known that this plan has already been included among the "remaining matters" which the patrons of the armed opposition are planning for the near future.

Even before this, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, one of the leaders of the armed opposition, openly talked of plans to include Afghanistan in Pakistan under the label of a "confederation." This is an old policy from "cold war" times, a policy aimed at drawing Afghanistan into aggressive regional military-political blocs, and to which they now want to lend some "new form."

I believe that there can be no doubt that there are forces in Pakistan, and indeed not only there, that would like to call into question the very existence of Afghanistan as an independent state. Such schemes are a serious threat to peace and security in the region and beyond its borders.

Trade Official on Soviet-Afghan Economic Ties

LD1302141389 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

Trade between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan quadrupled over the past decade, a TASS correspondent was told by USSR trade representative in Afghanistan Romual Kuprevich. The USSR's share in Afghanistan's foreign trade accounts for about 60 per cent, he said. Agreements on trade for a five-year period and intergovernmental agreements put Soviet-Afghan trade on a strong long-term basis, and that speeded up the pace of trade.

The Soviet Union supplies Afghanistan with such vital commodities as oil products, various equipment and materials, motor vehicles, aircraft, rolled stock, food products, consumer goods, while the USSR is being supplied with traditional Afghan export commodities: cotton, wool, hides and fresh fruits. Economic and technical assistance to Afghanistan is being given on easy terms, considering its financial and economic difficulties. Credits are paid off in traditional export commodities, not in hard currency.

In the past 8-10 years leading capitalist countries have stopped giving economic aid to Afghanistan and assistance through international banks and organisations sharply reduced. Assistance from socialist countries, above all the USSR, became the decisive factor in developing Afghanistan's economy. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member-countries account for 98 per cent of the total foreign aid to Afghanistan.

Cooperation in establishing key state enterprises was the distinctive feature of Soviet-Afghan economic ties until recently, said the trade representative. Soviet foreign trade organisations are now conducting operations with 300 private Afghan companies and traders. And such cooperation is rapidly developing. The private sector's share in Soviet-Afghan trade more than doubled over the past four years, and now accounts for over 20 per cent of the total trade turnover.

The Soviet Union intends to continue developing trade and economic relations with the Republic of Afghanistan. This will be largely promoted by the long-term programme of economic, technical and trade cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan for a period of up to 2000, which was signed in Moscow in September, 1988. It covers practically all economic and social areas and envisages assistance in building a number of major projects such as a mine dressing complex for the Aynak copper deposits, prospecting for new gas deposits, the development of the building industry, the restoration and expansion of the road network, construction of schools, public health centres and scientific-research institutions. Much attention is also being paid to the development of agriculture, considering the character of Afghanistan's economy.

While giving conventional aid, the USSR stated its readiness to participate in U.N. programmes of humanitarian and economic aid to its southern neighbour. The USSR's contribution has been set at 660 million dollars, and it will be made through deliveries of commodities and consumer goods, free rehabilitation aid, the development of various economic and social projects, and also the carriage of U.N. cargoes to Afghanistan via the USSR.

The Soviet Union believes that this aid should reach all areas of the country including those controlled by the opposition. This viewpoint is shared by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, the trade representative said.

25 Uzbek Fliers Honored by Kabul Regime

LD1402132788 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Tashkent February 14 TASS—Twenty-five pilots, navigators and board-engineers of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic, were awarded today Afghan medals "Ten Years of the April Revolution".

For nine long years, despite hostilities in that country, pilots of the Uzbek civil aviation board had flown missions from Tashkent to different places in Afghanistan, carrying passengers, post and freight in both directions. They piloted TU-154 civilian aircraft in the most difficult geographic and climatic conditions. Not infrequently they were compelled to overstep the designed regimes, displaying outstanding skill, courage and level-headedness. They carried out all their flight assignments excellently, ensuring the safety of passengers and cargoes.

M. Aman [name as received], first secretary of the Afghanistan General Consulate in Tashkent, presented the medals to the decorated in recognition of their merits and as a token of gratitude for their selfless work.

Indians Protest 'Interference' in Afghanistan

LD1402092289 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] New Delhi February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Leonid Kotov:

Large demonstrations were held outside the U.S. and Pakistani embassies here on Monday. The demonstrators chanted "Hands off sovereign Afghanistan", "We demand compliance with Geneva agreements".

The demonstrations, organised by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), drew workers of industrial enterprises, youth and women activists who voiced serious concern over incessant outside attempts to frustrate national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

The cause of our indignation is that the United States and Pakistan are violating the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, that they are building up military support for opposition groups seeking to heighten tension on Afghan territory, a TASS correspondent has been told by demonstrator Harun Yusuf, leader of the Student Front for National Integration. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, now being completed, is creating reliable guarantees for settlement of the long regional conflict the solution of which India and other states of the region have advocated. But adversaries of Afghan people's freedom are against that. They are fully responsible for the deaths of civilians in Kabul and other towns killed in massive bombardments, subversive and other terroristic acts staged by opposition groups. These actions show the real image of the so-called Afghan "freedom fighters".

The demonstrators passed a resolution denouncing international interference in Afghanistan's affairs. On behalf of the Indian people they called upon the world public to prevent a continuation of the war in that country, to work for the restoration of a durable peace on Afghan soil.

Biryukova Leaves for India 12 February

LD1200144900 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1214 GMT 12 Feb 89

[From the "TASS Round-up"]

[Text] Moscow, [dateline as received] Aleksandra Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow today for Delhi at the invitation of the Indian Government.

She was seen off at the airport by Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and by other officials. Among the escort party was Triloki Nath Kaul, India's ambassador to the USSR.

Arrives in Delhi

LD1302064189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0625 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Delhi, 13 Feb (TASS)—Today A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Delhi at the Indian Government's invitation.

At the airport she was welcomed by ministers and other officials. V.F. Isakov, USSR ambassador in India, was among the welcoming party.

Scientific Agreement Signed With India

LD1302062589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] A protocol on scientific and technical cooperation between India and the USSR in the production of construction materials has been signed in Delhi. Soviet and Indian specialists have mapped out a number of subjects for the next 2 years, and close coordination of actions will be established for their development. An exchange of experience and ideas between scientists and specialists of the two countries, stipulated by a long term program for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and India, has been implemented already in many areas.

USSR Urges Israel To End Human Rights Abuses

PM1302102589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 9 February, P. Buwalda, ambassador of the Netherlands, which represents Israel's interests in the USSR, was invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry, where he was told:

"Increasingly alarming reports have been coming in in recent days from the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel. The Israeli authorities are toughening their repressions against the civilian Palestinian population and making extensive use of firearms and ammunition, which is leading to suffering, mutilation, and death for many people. Elementary human rights are being flagrantly violated and the universal accepted norms of international law and numerous UN decisions, in particular Security Council Resolutions 605, 607, and 608, are being flouted.

"The Soviet Union urges Israel to immediately cease its illegal actions against the Palestinians and strictly observe international norms and agreements, above all the clauses of the 1949 fourth Geneva convention on the civilian population's protection in time of war.

"Nor is it possible to overlook the fact that Israel is emphasizing strong-arm methods precisely when favorable prerequisites are being created for a political settlement in the Near East on the basis of the balance of the interests of all sides involved and the ensuring of legal rights and reliable security for all peoples of the region, including Israel itself.

"We express the hope that the Israeli Government will heed the voice of reason and for its part take steps promoting the start of a practical unblocking of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the start of a real process of a fair and all-embracing Near East settlement."

The ambassador promised to bring the statement to the notice of the Israeli Government.

Rabin Statement on Army Actions 'Inhuman'

LD1402122489 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 14 Feb 89

["TASS Political Commentator on Yitzhaq Rabin's Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS commentator Albert Balebanov:

"We are not ashamed of what we are doing", the Israeli Knesset was told by Defence Minister Yitzhaq Rabin in reply to the growing world-wide condemnation of the atrocities perpetrated by Israeli militarists against the population of occupied Palestinian lands. "I know no other army which would show restraint equal to that of the Israeli Armed Forces", the minister added.

This statement by a member of the Israeli Cabinet is not merely a challenge to the world community, incensed as it is by Tel Aviv's unending violations of human rights in Palestinian lands. It is an expression of sheer blasphemy, of extreme cynicism and inhuman cruelty. It is impossible to describe his pronouncements otherwise.

The Israeli minister's words were primarily addressed to Washington. Tel Aviv, you see, is deeply offended by the fact that even such a close ally as the United States has joined its voice to international protests against the physical and moral outrages committed by Isaraeli soldiery against the Palestinians in south Lebanon, on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

Israel's reaction to international criticism against it is revulsing [as received] not only because of its tonality, but also because of the threats it contains to toughen repressions against armless adherents of the "intifadah"—the Palestinian popular uprising. The defence minister's statement can hardly conceal his despair that Tel Aviv is unable to smother the "intifadah" and to placate its own population, which is demanding ever more frequently and persistently that the government should end the violence and start negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. This anxiety has found reflection in three non-confidence motions, which were submitted in the Knesset in connection with the Shamir Cabinet's policy in the occupied territories.

Unfortunately, the present political leaders of Israel refuse to heed the voice of reason, the calls to show restraint, to honour the principles and norms of international law. This is borne out by the aggressive stand of Tel Aviv's delegate to the UN, during the Security Council meeting, which discussed once again the question of Israel's violations of human rights. This is also borne out by the Israel's brass hats atrocities in the occupied lands. Alarming reports are daily coming in about new victims of the bloody terror unleashed there by the occupationists.

The impasse in which Israel has now landed shows that its course of violence and arbitrariness is not only adventuristic, but utterly hopeless. The way out of it is to ensure a peaceful and all-embracing Middle-East settlement on a lasting and just basis.

Analyst on 'Unfeasibility' of Israeli Policy

LD1002165189 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

Israel is suffering one defeat after another in its hazardous foreign policy. This confirms its unfeasibility. No matter how it strives to smother the popular uprising of unarmed Palestinians in the occupied territories, its efforts are falling short of their goal for fourteen months now. The bloody terror, which the Israeli militarists have unleashed against "intifada" participants, is of no avail.

Israeli atrocities against Palestinians in south Lebanon, on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip, have gone beyond all limits. The vehement worldwide public protests are ample proof of this. The Norwegian officer J.E. Carlsen, unit commander of the U.N. provisional force in Lebanon, has openly compared Israel's actions with the crimes committed by Nazis during the Second World War. This view is shared by the group of Arab nations that have demanded an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council to discuss the increasingly tense situation in Israeli-occupied Palestinian lands. Even Israel's closest ally—the United States—was compelled to acknowledge Tel-Aviv's gross arbitrariness in the forcibly seized territories. Yitzhaq Shamir's Cabinet, which apparently did not expect such a turn, tried to deny the facts. Washington, however, sticks to its conclusions.

Tel Aviv is also suffering a fiasco in its efforts to split the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement. This, after all, is the purpose of Israel's plan to hold elections in the occupied territories. The election scheme was needed to isolate the Palestine Liberation Organisation, to form a "fifth column" on the Western Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip and strike a deal with it. The secret purpose of this plan was quickly and easily guessed by the Palestinians. The underground joint national leadership of the Palestinian popular uprising most resolutely rejected the elections idea. What is more, it served warning to those liable to enter into a dialogue with Tel Aviv that only the PLO could be a plenipotentiary partner at negotiations with the Israeli authorities. The statement stresses particularly that the negotiations could serve only one goal—creation of an independent Palestinian state. Thus, the Palestinians have rejected the plan of "limited autonomy" within the framework of Israel, which Yitzhaq Shamir's Cabinet wished to foist upon them.

What is the way out of the impasse into which Tel Aviv has placed itself? It stands to reason that an answer to this question could be given only by a comprehensive Middle East settlement ensured by the most reliable international guarantees. And the latter, it appears, can be provided only by an authoritative international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations.

Lukyanov Decorates Israeli CP's Vilner

LD1302173989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR

Supreme Soviet Presidium, decorated Me'ir Vilner, general secretary of Israeli communist party Central Committee with the Order of October Revolution in the Kremlin today.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Anatoliy Lukyanov cordially congratulated Me'ir Vilner on the high award, which marks his services in the struggle for social progress, democracy, peace and friendship among people, his major contribution to strengthening fraternal ties between the Israeli communist party and the CPSU, and his 70th birthday. In the USSR, Anatoliy Lukyanov stressed, you are well known as a patriot and an internationalist, a consistent fighter for the vital interests of the Israeli working people, Jews and Arabs, and for an equitable settlement of the Near East conflict.

Me'ir Vilner expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet state for the high award.

Following the presentation of the award, Anatoliy Lukyanov and Me'ir Vilner held a friendly conversation.

Iranian Ambassador on Revolution Anniversary

LD1102202389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by Naser Heirani-Nobari, Iranian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, in the studio on 11 February—recorded in Persian with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: Today is the 10th anniversary of the victorious great Islamic revolution (?in Iran). The process of Islamic revolution taking place in Muslim countries is a reality of our times. This movement, rousing Muslims, is growing throughout the world. Over many centuries Muslims found themselves, because they were distracted from true Islamic values, under the influence of colonialism. After the industrial revolution, the Western world began to publicize its own way as the only one for the attainment of prosperity and happiness for mankind. It began to implement cultural expansion in the developing countries. Its aim was to split the peoples of these countries away from their own culture, which ultimately led to admiration of the Western way of life, which is one of the fundamental trends of colonialism and the exploitation of man by man.

Iran, which is one of the main centers of Eastern civilization, also fell under this influence. Initially material prosperity resulting from industrial development deceived many people, including a proportion of the intelligentsia. They thought that the country's subordination to the West was the only way to development and overcoming backwardness. However, the other part of the intelligentsia was, on the contrary, convinced of the need for resistance, for waging a struggle for their own culture and ideology. Iran's historical experience has shown that capitulation to Western civilization, which was dominant for more than a century in our country, brought us bitter experience of cultural, political, and economic backwardness. However, our people resisted this and started to support the true thinkers and intellectuals, headed by the revolutionary clergy, which resulted in the triumph of the great Islamic revolution in Iran.

This victory was a blow to the West, which therefore had no other way out than to make its own attacks on the revolution and our people. The history of the last decade in our country is rich with events testifying to this: the merciless 8-year war which was foisted upon us; the destruction of residential districts; being shelled with missiles; chemical attacks; and finally, the latest barbarous attack, when a U.S. missile shot down a passenger airliner with 290 passengers on board in the Persian Gulf. This aim is also served by hostile propaganda saying that Iran allegedly violates human rights. In our opinion, each of these is just a link in a single chain.

The heroic people of Iran are proud that throughout this period it has courageously resisted and shattered its enemies' hopes of defeating our revolution. Our experience of victory over the West's cultural expansion in Iran will be disseminated throughout the Muslim world. Our revolution calls for a world of freedom, justice, and monotheism. Imam Khomeyni recently sent his first message of the past decade to a leader of a foreign state. It contains very important historical, political, cultural, and ideological aspects. It was handed to the respected leader of your country, His Excellency Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In the latter part of this message, Imam Khomeyni stresses that our country, as before, is convinced of the need to maintain good-neighborly and mutually advantageous relations with the Soviet Union. Thank you.

Gorbachev Thanks Syrian Assembly for Quake Aid

JN1102193089 Damascus Television Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] People's Assembly Speaker 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah has received a cable of thanks and appreciation from Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the name of the Presidium and all Soviet toilers, the cable voices sincerest gratitude to the People's Assembly and the friendly Arab Syrian people for their expressions of sympathy and commiseration over the earthquake disaster in Soviet Armenia. The gesture, the cable continues, underscores Syria's effective contribution to the relief effort and the solid ties of friendship and cooperation binding the friendly countries of Syria and the USSR.

East Europe

Debate Over 1956 Events Continues in Hungary

Plenum Discusses Pozsgay Appraisal

LD1102230689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] A plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee, at which very topical domestic political issues are being discussed, is continuing its work in Budapest. The details are reported from the Hungarian capital by our correspondent, Vladimir Stefanov.

[Begin recording] [Stefanov] The work of the present plenum is going on behind closed doors; as yet the outside world has received a minimum of information about events unfolding in the Hall of Sessions of the Central Committee. Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, delivered a report at the plenum. Then followed discussions in which 16 people took part on the first day. Virtually all issues currently of concern to Hungarian society were touched upon, including such problems as the pluralization of socialist society, the transfer from a one-party system to a multiparty system, strengthening party political and organizational unity, and restoring the confidence of communists in their strength.

Various approaches were shown by those who spoke on the appraisal of events in the country's history, particularly on those events that have given rise to heated debates in society in recent days, Emil Kimmel [not further identified] stated. These words were explained by a representative of the MSZMP Central Committee office. Recently Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, gave an interview in which he categorically called the events of 1956 in Hungary a popular uprising. In addition, Imre Pozsgay referred to the results of research by a working subcommission of the Central Committee which is engaged in studying the country's recent history. This statement has evoked an outburst of public opinion, and views within the party itself have been divided; therefore this issue has become the focus of attention at the present plenum. We will find out later about the final stand of the Central Committee regarding this issue. But for the time being I can offer the view of Gyula Horn, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and under secretary of state for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

[Horn in Hungarian fading into Russian report] The work of the subcommission has not yet been completed, Gyula Horn says, but one thing can already be stated quite definitely. The events of 1956 began as a popular uprising but later degenerated into a counterrevolution.

[Stefanov] I stress that this is the private opinion of one of the Central Committee members. The final answer to the question about the appraisal of the 1956 events in Hungary will be given, one has to assume, in the decision of the present plenum. [end recording]

Reader Inquires About Debate

PM1402095389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "We Answer Readers": "Debates Under Way"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Some PRAVDA readers, referring to press and radio reports, have asked the following question: Is is true that a debate has begun in Budapest regarding a reappraisal of the events of fall 1956?

We asked our own correspondent in Hungary to answer this.

Budapest, 10 Feb—Political life in Hungary is seething today. Questions of how to extricate the country from the difficult situation, what changes must be made in the political system and how, and what kind of new constitution there should be are under discussion.

Attention focuses on practical ways to implement the decisions of the Hungarian national party conference (May 1988), whose main point is to abandon outmoded and oversimplified notions of socialism and adopt a course of radical economic and political reforms designed to make fuller use of the democratic potential of the new society. Great disputes are occurring; on the whole they are of a constructive character, but there are also extremist approaches.

It is natural that the vision of the country's future is in many respects determined by the attitude toward its past. In this connection the party conference set up a special commission that was instructed to carry out and present for examination by the supreme party organs a comprehensive analysis of the 40 years of the country's development along the path of socialism and to formulate proposals on the draft of the new MSZMP program.

With reference to some of the commission's conclusions, the question of the nature of the events of 1956 in Hungary was recently raised for public debate; what were these events—counterrevolution or a people's uprising?

So will there be a reappraisal of the previous ideas of everything that happened in the country in fall 1956, as well as the decisions of the Central Committee plenums and MSZMP congresses that made it possible to consolidate society and provided a basis for successful development for decades? If the events did not constitute a counterrevolution whose aims and methods were hostile to socialism, was the appeal of Hungary's communists and J. Kadar's government for military aid from the

USSR consequently pointless? At present questions are just being raised. In general there are no new answers and arguments; the ground is being prepared for them.

The first reaction within the party and society illustrates the depths that have been plumbed. On 7 February MAGYAR HIRLAP published a statement issued by a primary party organization in Budapest's 12th district. The statement says that describing as a popular uprising the mass extermination of communists and nonparty members, the bloody devastation of the Budapest party gorkom, the white terror that raged, and the renunciation of the foundations of socialism is not only an antihistorical step but a cynical challenge to the people who did everything to prevent even greater casualties, bar the way to counterrevolution, and find ways to further advance by deriving lessons from the past. There are also other viewpoints.

The opponents of the extreme positions seek a common denominator and are developing the thesis that the events of 1956, which began as an uprising by the people, who were endeavoring to renew socialism, then came under the control of reactionary forces and turned into a bloody counterrevolution. The Hungarian Writers Union regards the concept of a "people's uprising" as a chance to reconcile public opinion, science, and politics on the question of the events of 1956. Public opinion polls reveal a broad range of feelings. However, the idea that the nature of complex and contradictory phenomena cannot be conveyed by a single epithet and that all facts should not be squeezed into a single concept, perhaps, reflects sentiments more fully than others.

Today we do indeed have a better knowledge of a great deal that happened. We can judge the facts and people more fully and with less prejudice than we could immediately after the events—provided that everyone comes down from the barricades during the disputes and sets about seeking the truth rather than settling scores.

Reasons for 1956 Events Reviewed

PM1302115589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by own correspondent A. Kaverznev under the rubric "Budapest on the Line": "Back in 1956"]

[Text] Hungarian television has carried a report from Rakoskeresztur, one of Budapest's largest cemeteries. The television camera was set up at the outlying plot No 301, where there are no gravestones.

Gyula Borics, state secretary of the Hungarian People's Republic Ministry of Justice, was interviewed by a reporter at approximately the spot where Imre Nagy is buried. The man who held the office of prime minister in 1953-1955 and was described by Hungary's and even our own historical literature only as one of the leaders of the 1956 counterrevolutionary rebellion, a revisionist and a traitor. He was executed in June 1958, and until very recently not even his relatives knew where he was buried. Nobody knows his actual burial place even now. What an irony of fate: While chairman of the Council of Ministers, Imre Nagy himself signed a decree which demanded that executed criminals be buried in completely unmarked graves. The state secretary of the Ministry of Justice has announced that, at the request of relatives, the remains of Imre Nagy and several of his associates will be exhumed, identified, and reinterred.

Maybe it was not worth attaching such importance to this episode. In essence it was nothing out of the ordinary: A legitimate wish by a deceased person's relatives was being met. But there is also a certain symbolism: A wave of debates associated with reinterpreting and reassessing the 1956 events has recently rolled over Hungary.

Much has been written about what happened in Hungary in the fall of 1956, including in our own country. Therefore I will cite only the basic facts that paved the way for the Hungarian events. They were formulated by the MSZMP Provisional Central Committee in early December 1956.

Events in Hungary had "four basic causes or motive factors" which started operating long before 23 October 1956 and, taken together, produced the tragic outcome. First, "the Rakosi-Gero clique, which had a decisive influence on the Hungarian Workers Party central leadership and the Hungarian People's Republic Government, had deviated from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism since late 1948...." Second, "a major role in the development of the October events and their tragic outcome was played... by the steadily strengthening wing of party opposition which rallied around Imre Nagy and Geza Losonczi...." Third, "...a main factor was the Horthy-fascist and Hungarian capitalist-landowner counterrevolution, whose sizable forces operated underground within the country...," and finally "a decisive and fundamental role was played by international imperialism."

Hungary today is at the stage of reforms. Hungarian communists believe, just as we do, that it is impossible to advance without subjecting the past to a thorough analysis and clarifying the lessons we have to learn from it. By the decision of the Hungarian national party conference, last June the MSZMP Central Committee set up a commission charged with conducting a scientific-political analysis of society's and the economy's development over the last few decades and elaborating a new party program declaration. There are four subcommissions operating within the framework of this commission, which is headed by Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo. One of these subcommissions, the historical one, is led by Academician Ivan T. Berend, member of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Public opinion was excited by Imre Pozsgay's radio interview on 28 January. Speaking about a session of the Central Committee subcommission on historical questions, the minister of state noted that the subcommission considers that the assessment of events in 1956 as a counterrevolution is incorrect and that it perceives these events as "a people's uprising against an oligarchic form of power degrading the nation."

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, declared on 30 January that the party Central Committee must discuss this question. It is obvious, he noted, that diverse political conclusions can be drawn from scientific results, and therefore a debate is necessary. An identical opinion was expressed by Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, who emphasized that it is impermissible to transform the process of exposing mistakes and of rehabilitation into political campaigns which create a split within Hungarian society.

What are the assessments contained in the 136-page resolution drafted by Academician Berend's commission? The full text of the document will be published only next week in a special issue of the party theoretical journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE. But Ivan T. Berend described the resolution's basic propositions in an interview with the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG. The commission has drawn the conclusion that the struggle within the party for renewal during the period 1953-1956 was defeated, despite the opportunity for a turnaround which presented itself in the summer of 1953 and the "new course." At the same time, victory by the Rakosi-Gero grouping would have dragged the Hungarian Workers Party and the country into an insoluble crisis. Therefore, Academician Berend declared, when the student demonstration brought out into the streets the demand for a renewal of socialism and the necessary cadre guarantees, this provided a spark sufficient to cause an explosion. The people, intimidated by lawlessness and terror, rose against the Rakosi-Gero system, which had proved its inability to effect changes both from above and from below. That was, Berend noted, a genuine people's uprising in which large masses of workers in Budapest and other major cities participated together with young people and the intelligentsia.

The commission confirmed that forces working for the restoration of the Horthy regime, which collapsed a decade previously, were also present in the political arena at that time. There were also extremist right-wing groupings which intended to revenge themselves on communists—columns of declasse lumpen elements hungry for lynchings and vengeance.

According to the commission's appraisal, Imre Nagy's government failed to rise to events in the exceptionally complex situation. Initially it advocated the former party opposition's policy of reforms and expansion of the Stalinist system's framework, and adopted the idea of multiparty political pluralism and worker self-management. The former party opposition, together with the forces grouped around Imre Nagy and Janos Kadar, founded the MSZMP. Their paths diverged only in early November, when Kadar and his associates refused to participate in processes whereby Imre Nagy and his group started drifting toward the right, losing their grip on events.

The commission has singled out a question which is fundamental for an appraisal of the situation. At that time, Imre Nagy's government questioned monolithic state ownership and the political structure. Such a stance could be equally interpreted as either a rejection of the Stalinist model of socialism or as a betrayal and abandonment of socialism because, in line with the former ideology, this model was identified with socialism. The Soviet leadership—presumably under the influence of the turn of events on 30 October, when a raging mob dispatched the defenders of the Budapest city party committee with unbelievable cruelty—quickly opted for the second point of view.

These are the conclusions drawn by the MSZMP Central Committee subcommission. Let us follow the Hungarian leaders' example and once more repeat that these are only scientific conclusions and not the party's political assessments. A broad debate lies ahead, and it is actually already under way. The most diverse, and at times diametrically opposite, opinions are being expressed. The commission will examine the facts, propositions, and viewpoints formulated during the debate and will take them into account when elaborating the final draft of the resolution which will be submitted to the Central Committee. A fundamental stance on the past and the future will be taken by the 14th MSZMP Congress.

Strike Impedes Progress of Polish 'Roundtable'

PM1402094989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "The Strike at the 'Belchatow' Coal Mine Is Like a Pail of Cold Water"]

[Text] Warsaw—The "roundtable" is continuing its sessions in working groups. The group on problems of the national economy and social policy are attracting particular public attention. It goes without saying that everyone expects progress in its work—progress founded on reasonable compromise. No one supposed, however, that an event would take place to cast a shadow over the discussions.

That very day, 6 February, when the first "roundtable" session, which has inspired hope in Polish society, was taking place in the palace of the Polish Council of Ministers, a strike flared up—the now familiar sit-in type—at the "Belchatow" coal mine, which is the largest in Poland and supplies the country with 38 million tonnes of fuel per year, using the open-cut method. The strike committee is demanding a sharp increase in wages and... the legalization of "Solidarity." Talks have begun between the committee and the mine's directors. The situation is difficult. This is because "Belchatow" is not simply a coal mine but a powerful center of the country's energy supply: The coal mined here feeds 12 power generating units, and the strike has cut off their fuel supplies. Five of these units have shut down already.

Then an event occurred that shook the country. A. Pietrzyk, a participant in the "roundtable" discussion, went to "Belchatow" and, as he explained to the striking miners, went there in L. Walesa's car, as his proper representative. The guest said that the miners must sit tight and not give in, as that was the only way they would win. A. Pietrzyk left for Warsaw the next day, noting with satisfaction that he felt confident of the strikers' determination.

J. Urban, the Polish Government spokesman, was forced to issue a statement in connection with this event, which in no way accords with the spirit of the "roundtable." He expressed concern, because a question mark has now been placed over the whole point of the talks and the chances for national accord. Such accord, he pointed out, is impossible under the pressure of strikes. We can remember how many "Solidarity" figures employed these same methods of negotiating by using strikes as a weapon in 1981. This led to increased conflicts, and the country was brought to the brink of an economic and political abyss. For the sake of seeking accord, the present "roundtable" partners have renounced confrontational methods, as they have said on more than one occasion. In that case, J. Urban asked, how are we to interpret the fact that a participant in the "roundtable" is inciting workers at the "Belchatow" by referring to L. Walesa and threatening to provoke strike action under the "Solidarity" banner at another 20 mines?

The first pail of cold water has been poured over everyone hoping for a successful outcome of the talks. Is it going to be followed by others?

Belorussian Radio To Broadcast in Polish

LD1202115789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Minsk—The Committee for Radio and Television of the Belorussian Republic has decided to broadcast radio programs in the Polish language. The first program, which will begin with the Polonaise by Oginski, will be broadcast on 21 February by Grodno Radio.

No Proof Found of Alleged Romanian Atrocities

PM1302161589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Melnikov under the rubric "On the Trail of a Sensation": "Far-Fetched Foul Play"]

[Text] Budapest—A chilling tale was related at the beginning of January by the local Hungarian Democratic Forum organization in the small town of Gyula, which lies near the border with Romania, a TASS corespondent in Budapest reported to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. A letter sent by the local "informal" organization members to Hungarian National Assembly President Istvan Stadinger said that 18 bodies with gunshot wounds had been discovered in cornfields in the border area. The news, backed up by a reference to "reliable sources in internal affairs organs," was supplemented by the evidence of "eyewitnesses," who had seen Romanian border guards "kill children" and "force young women to strip," young women, that is, who had been caught attempting to flee to Hungary. Their colleagues from Hungary—if, of course, one can believe the letter—hand over every other border violator for the Romanian authorities to punish, particularly if the detainee is a Gypsy or merely speaks bad Hungarian....

The story told by the "democrats" from Gyula literally rocked the country, particularly the credulous section of the population. Although many people expressed serious doubts about the letter's authenticity from the outset, the Hungarian Supreme Prosecutor's Office immediately began an investigation, as required by law. It was then that the discrepancies began to emerge.

First of all, the "reliable source" displayed an inexplicable transience, and it is unlikely to be found either in the immediate or distant future. In its absence, 64 people—representatives of the police and border guards, people who had come from Romania, police doctors, and local people—gave their testimony to the investigators. Apparently, none of them had seen any "bodies," nor had they heard of any criminal "incidents." Perhaps the workers in local morgues and graveyards know something? Apparently not. The staff of the prosecutor's office carried out a meticulous check on around 1,200 cases of death in even remotely suspicious circumstances in the four Hungarian megyes bordering on Romania. Again nothing! No Romanian citizen with a "gunshot or bayonet wound."

Perhaps the investigators were keeping something back? But the entire country was able to see their conscientious work for itself: Through the medium of Hungarian television it saw the completely quiet border area and listened to the stories of immigrants from Romania and local people and representatives of the authorities.

As one might have expected, the whole far-fetched story very soon collapsed. At a Hungarian Supreme Prosecutor's Office news conference the other day it was announced that the "most authentic facts" communicated in a provocative tone to the head of the Hungarian parliament were in fact total disinformation. At the same time, it was reported that according to statistics, 6,490 people, mainly of Hungarian nationality, illegally crossed the Hungarian-Romanian border into Hungary from Romania last year. Despite the difficulties, which are natural given the large influx of immigrants, everything possible is being done to provide them with housing and work and to resolve at least some of the material problems. Some 1,652 people, or around one-fourth of the new arrivals, were sent back as criminals or people with dubious intentions after a careful check made by the Hungarian authorities. It was stressed that given the Hungarian practice of rigorously checking all instances of death, it is simply impossible to imagine any instance like those "colorfully" described in the communication from the local Hungarian Democratic Forum organization going unnoticed.

As is known, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is one of the most important of the so-called "alternative" organizations that have emerged in Hungary recently. Its ambition is to gain political authority and participate in the solution of key questions of the country's development. What does its leadership think about the the dispatch of such a letter to the head of the national parliament and the reporting of unchecked data in the press? "Our movement," Istvan Csurka, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum provisional presidium, was forced to admit at the aforementioned news conference, "will probably have to be guided in the future not so much by emotions as by reason, and not base its work entirely on intuition and spontaneity. Perhaps excessive zeal made us naive in this matter. However, it drew public attention to the need for better organized handling of refugees."

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Takes 'Realistic Stance' on El Salvador

PM1402093589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Reader's letter followed by A. Makhov response under the rubric "We Reply to Reader": "El Salvador: Obstructions on Path to Compromise"]

[Text] On 26 January this year your newspaper carried a conversation with G. Garcia, a Salvadoran journalist, entitled "The Country Is Tired of War," saying that leftist partisans have proposed halting military action and taking part in the presidential elections, provided they are postponed for 6 months. The ruling Salvadoran elite's first reaction was negative, it was said in the interview. But how did events develop thereafter? Has an opportunity to stop the war been missed again?

I. Shashkova. Moscow.

[Makhov] Indeed, the first reaction to the partisans' proposal was negative. The fascists from the Nationalist Republican Alliance immediately stated a categoric "no." The motivation? The postponement of the elections allegedly contradicts the Constitution. It is interesting that it is precisely the figures who lead the unfortunately well-known "death squads" who defended the letter of the law. At first the leaders of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, including the country's president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, also refused to listen to the rebels' opinion. But I recall that in his interview the Salvadoran journalist said that the final answer cannot be judged by the first reaction. A great deal depends on how realistic the new Washington administration's Latin American policy will be. G. Garcia's forecast is beginning to come true. The day after the partisans' proposal became known, a NEW YORK TIMES editorial noted: "Washington can only welcome this obvious gesture by the rebels on the path to a settlement." U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle expressed the official White House viewpoint when he made a brief visit to El Salvador a few days ago. He stated that if Duarte agrees to the left-wing rebels' demand to postpone the elections planned for 19 March, the Bush administration will support him. At the same time he threatened that the continuation of U.S. aid to El Salvador depends on "more careful observance of human rights."

For some people this was unexpected, and it aroused the anger of the extremist-minded Salvadoran military. But then the Christian Democrats, who are in power, immediately made a statement that the partisans' proposals are positive. The other political parties published analogous statements—all except the Nationalist Republican Alliance. Its representative R. Ponce, the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, openly threatened those politicians who would insist on discussing the rebels' peace initiatives.

Now, it seems, both in Washington and in El Salvador everyone realizes that the war is senseless and a compromise is the only possible way out. But in contrast to the White House, which has finally taken a realistic stance, the powerful Salvadoran military bosses do not at all want to part with the dividends which their military activities bring them. However, as President Duarte's leading adviser admitted, "the military does believe that the U.S. Congress could decide to stop giving them aid." Undoubtedly this worries the "diehards," and for this reason it is quite possible that the last obstacle on the path to compromise will be eliminated.

Honduran Deputies Urge U.S. To Disarm Contras

LD1402100189 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Havana February 14 TASS—Honduran parliamentarians from opposition parties have urged the United States to disarm Somocista counterrevolutionary groups operating against Nicaragua from Honduran territory.

At the same time the MPs demanded that the groups leave the country as soon as possible and that Washington should assume a mission to disarm the contras because it was precisely the United States that at one time organized contra forces and provided them with weapons, stated deputies of the Honduran National Assembly (unicameral parliament) from the opposition National Party, the PRENSA LATINA news agency reported with reference to Honduran radio stations.

For their part, representatives of another opposition party, the Christian Democrats, strongly criticised the activities of President Azcona Hoyo, pointing out that his permission for the stationing of the contras on Honduran territory had been a major error.

Contra forces at a strength of 13,000 are now on Honduran territory pending a Washington decision on their further destiny, Tegucigalpa radio stations pointed out. The Nicaraguan Government already proposed that the Honduran Government disarm and repatriate the contras, the radio stations recalled.

Nicaraguan Minister Announces Canal Plans

OW1302035089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Nicaragua plans to build a canal connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans on its own territory. Nicaraguan Finance Minister Huper announced in Managua that a government committee has already been set up to promote this project. A group of Japanese specialists is scheduled to visit Nicaragua soon to conduct a technological study on constructing the canal.

Jamaica's Manley on Links With USSR, Cuba

PM1302155589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by own special correspondent A. Kamorin: "Jamaica: Priorities Defined"]

[Excerpts] Kingston—Michael Manley, leader of the People's National Party, was named victor on the evening of 9 February, when the preliminary count of the votes cast in the Jamaican general election was still going on. Since 10 February, after he was officially congratulated on his victory by the island's governor-general, Michael Manley's name has been accompanied in all the local newspapers by the title "prime minister elect." [passage omitted]

Answering your IZVESTIYA correspondent's question on relations with socialist countries, Michael Manley said:

"I recall that our earlier government was one of the first in the region to establish trade ties with the USSR and, in particular, to conclude a bilateral agreement on bauxites, which is of great importance for our economy. The Edward Seaga cabinet continued what we had started. Jamaica has an interest in expanding these ties. We are ready to cooperate with all states in the world on a mutually beneficial basis. As I already stressed in the election campaign, we also intend to restore diplomatic relations with Cuba."

It is expected that Michael Manley will be sworn in as prime minister on Monday evening and that the composition of the country's new government will then become known.

Paraguayan Developments After Coup Reviewed

PM1402102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 First Edition p 7

[Dispatch by own correspondent S. Svistunov under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Paraguay; Are the Changes Tangible?"]

[Text] Brasilia—Contradictory reports continue to come in from Paraguay where, on the night of 2-3 February, the oldest of the Latin American dictators, General Alfredo Stroessner, was overthrown as a result of a military coup and replaced by his close friend and relation General Andres Rodriguez.

The main news has been the decree signed by Rodriguez on disbanding the present congress and holding general elections on 1 May. All political parties will be able to take part in the elections except the Communist Party, which remains outlawed.

Portraits of Stroessner are being torn down all over the country. The new authorities, the newspapers write sarcastically, will have to use their imagination to rename the more than 10,000 schools, kindergartens, hospitals, public foundations, cities, railroad stations, airports, and so forth which bear the former dictator's name.

The opposition radio station Nanduti, which the dictatorship forced into silence in January 1988, has carried out an experimental broadcast and will begin regular broadcasts within the next few days. The opposition newspaper ABC COLOR, closed down by Stroessner in March 1984, is also preparing to resume publication.

Gen Rodriguez has, however, presented many ministerial portfolios to leaders whose names and deeds are closely linked with the Stroessner era.

Contrary to reports previously transmitted by news agencies to the effect that the overthrown dictator had been flown to Chile, he was under arrest on Paraguayan territory for over 2 days. Then, together with a group of close relations, henchmen, and bodyguards, the ex-dictator was dispatched to the small town of Itumbiara, on the border between the Brazilian states of Goias and Minas Gerais.

The inhabitants of Itumbiara, angry at the dubious honor of receiving the overthrown dictator on their land, are demanding that he leave their city immediately.

Meanwhile Stroessner has left the Paraguayan state coffers in the most lamentable state possible. Not only is there nothing with which to pay the interest on the foreign debt, which totals $2 billion, there is nothing to pay for the import of necessities. Gen Rodriguez' regime is preparing a package of economic measures which, to all appearances, will sharply increase prices, especially for fuel, and reduce the administrative apparatus which has swollen out of all proportion.

The reaction among Paraguayan political emigre circles to the events taking place is varied. The leadership of the Colorado Popular Movement, Mopoco (which arose as a result of the ruling party's split in 1953 and which was outlawed by Stroessner in 1959) has returned home almost in its entirety and voiced its intention to cooperate with the new authorities, although it believes the measures proclaimed by Gen Rodriguez are of a very limited nature. They are particularly alarmed by the fact that there has been no announcement of a general amnesty, the immediate release of political prisoners, guarantees for political emigres returning to the country, or freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Political & Social

More on Election Campaigns for People's Deputies

CPSU Candidate on Financial Autonomy

LD1302215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video interview with Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by television commentator Aleksandr Krutov; date and place not specified; Bunich and Krutov identified from screen caption—recorded]

[Text] [Krutov] Good evening, comrades! The election campaign, the preelection struggle, of candidates for deputy is daily becoming more and more energetic. You are becoming familiar with their programs and have probably noticed that in virtually every program the candidates propose as the main theme the raising of the Soviet peoples' living standards, allocating more funds to housing, consumer goods, health, culture, and education. All this is fine and good, but where are the funds to come from? The electors are also asking this at preelection meetings; and we put this question to Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich.

[Bunich] I think you have hit on a sore point, which does not just recede into the background but disappears altogether. So it turns out that one persons says, I will increase the people's living standard by 50 percent, and the race is on—another will say by 100 percent; one says he will increase pensions by 50 percent; another says by 200 percent, and so on. All of this is completely unrealistic, because if we remain just as poor, almost poverty stricken, as we are today, then whatever we may say it will be impossible to do almost anything. The question is, how do we get the economy moving? As for reviving it, I see no other way than financial autonomy. So far we have been singing the song "put us on financial autonomy." That's fine, but we have not really put the state sector onto financial autonomy. Once the state sector is put onto this financial autonomy, including leasing within it—the new model of financial autonomy, not the old models—and the new model includes leasing, then we must review the priorities; following this the vast accumulations that have been gained can go not so much to metallurgy, not so much into coal, not so much into heavy industry as to our man Chazov in health care, to our schools, to food, and so on.

But to begin with, if we start right away with the priorities, then there is no cake to share and we will be allocating very little in any case to these priorities. First of all we have to create the cake, then we have to put these priorities in the cake, and then they will be real priorities.

[Krutov] The electors may ask how long do we have to wait? Again, we have to wait—I understand, we have to work and again wait. When will it be? Ten years? Fifteen years?

[Bunich] Look, why is it that the New Economic Policy fed people over 3 years? The first year they put the grain in the ground; the second year came the harvest and they used the harvest to feed the cattle, they fattened the cattle a bit; and in the third year there was both grain and cattle, isn't that so? So, we won't reach the U.S. standard of living in one minute, of course, and there is no point in dreaming about that, or the Swedish standard of living. But as for feeding people—that is not a new orbit of living standards, not the very highest quality of living standards, but a quantity to feed people, to dress them, as Lenin then said, in cotton print—you remember, yes, and giving them our housing, moreover, let's say, not so luxurious; well, it seems to me that if we start immediately—starting tomorrow—transferring everyone to real financial autonomy, then 3 years would suffice. For this purpose, not for world technical progress, but for this purpose.

[Krutov] So, you think that we need to transfer the whole of the state sector to leasing?

[Bunich] I think so, yes, all of it. Here we are, doing things like this: The state sector is in ruins, the cooperative comes along and performs miracles. But the miracles are not because the cooperative is so strong, but because the state sector, unfortunately, is not allowed to do what the cooperative is allowed to do. If it were allowed for the state sector, the cooperative would not get a look in and people would not be running away from the state sector into cooperatives. Instead very many would be running in the opposite direction. We have to have this before it is too late. That, I think, is the most important thing.

[Krutov] That is, let us make the rights of the state sector and of the cooperatives equal, and put them on equal terms.

[Bunich] Yes, on equal terms.

[Krutov] Perhaps then we would put an end to the monopolism of the ministries and departments.

[Bunich] Take the example of the Moscow Oblast construction materials main directorate, with 67 enterprises. It has the status of a republican ministry. They put everybody onto leasing and realized that they themselves, as a republican ministry, were not necessary. They went to the government bodies to ask to be closed down as a main directorate—that is, as a ministry. They did it themselves; this is the first time this has happened. That was the most correct way out of the situation.

Abalkin on Revitalizing Socialism

LD0702231589 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] The elections of USSR people's deputies is to take place on 26 March. On average over two candidates will be pursuing each deputy's mandate. They will explain their election program at meetings with electors.

Leonid Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economy of the Academy of the USSR, is also preparing for this. He has been put forward as a candidate deputy for the CPSU. Less than a year ago Leonid Abalkin spoke at the 19th party conference. Many delegates to the conference, including Central Committee members, described his speech as too pessimistic, not containing any constructive proposals. And now the Central Committee members have unanimously voted for Abalkin. Why? Judging by interviews which he gave to the press, Abalkin has not become an enthusiastic optimist. However, he continues to put forward constructive proposals in his Institute.

In a special interview for our bulletin, the Moscow radio correspondent asked Leonid Abalkin: Do you think that socialism will be able to gain a new face in the nearest future?

[Begin Abalkin recording in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] Not if the existing forms of public life and the methods of management are preserved. This was shown by the practice of the last few decades. In spite of this—and I am convinced of this—socialism is able to create mighty and unprecedented (?stimuli) for people's ethical and economic activity. But only under one condition—if it gives a real feeling of being manager in production and in the country. To this aim everything that human civilization has gained during the entire period of its development should be of service. We need to reorganize relations of ownership and forms of its implementation. We need to develop [word indistinct] relations. However, we must not be afraid of the complaints that we are moving toward capitalism. Capitalism in these days has found the right ratio—for its formation—of the interests of the state, of private enterprise and of the ordinary worker. It is understandable that in socialism the composition of forces taking part will be different. Therefore we have to find the optimum balance of interests to this aim. When this takes place, the economic and social effect will be much higher than in capitalism. It is a task which will take quite some time. The coming period which you have mentioned will show whether this direction is the right one. [end recording]

More on Shcherbitskiy Registration

AU1002131689 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Making Use of the Right To Elect"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 2 February an expanded session of the Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency commission for the election of people's deputies was held. Having examined applications from labor collectives and statements by candidates running for the constituency, the participants in the session resolved to register Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, as a candidate USSR people's deputy for Verkhnedneprovskiy territorial constituency in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

Since V.V. Shcherbitskiy has agreed to run for Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency, he expressed profound gratitude to labor collectives of Kiev city and Voroshilovgrad Oblast which have also nominated him as a candidate to be a USSR people's deputy. [passage omitted]

Belitskiy Examines Electoral Systems

LD1302224989 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Something of an election fever is building up in the Soviet Union as 26 March looms larger and larger on the horizon, for that is the day when the people of the country will be going to the polls to elect their top body of state according to a new electoral system. In "Vantage Point" today Boris Belitskiy explains how this system differs from the old one and from electoral systems in the West.

[Begin Belitskiy recording] [passage omitted] The present candidates were nominated, in most cases several in each constituency, at genuine election meetings. The only requirement was that a meeting nominating a candidate be attended by at least 500 people. The candidates nominated this way unquestionably represent differing approaches to the country's problems and come from very different backgrounds. This is a fact noted by Western observers, too. [passage omitted] And indeed the platforms proposed by various candidates reflect very independent thinking. As an example, let me quote just a few of the points in the platform of (Mikhail Pashkin), a candidate nominated in the Kuntsevo constituency of Moscow. His platform calls for the establishment in the new Supreme Soviet of standing commissions to supervise the activities of the Ministry of Defense, the law enforcement agencies and the KGB, the Committee for State Security. He also wants college and university students not to be subject to call up for national service in the armed forces and he wants mothers to have the right to receive a subsistence minimum allowance from the state, without working, until their child reaches the age of 7. Such are some of the points in the platform that secured him nomination in his Moscow constituency.

One of the important factors that distinguishes election campaigning in this country from that in the West is campaign funding. We all know how corporate interests in the West are again and again exposed making huge illegal contributions to campaign funds, whether of Republican Party candidates in the United States or Conservative Party candidates in Britain. Well, here in the Soviet Union all campaign funding comes from the state. The sum of 156,000,000 rubles has been allocated for this out of the national budget. Among other things, the funds are to be used to pay candidates their average wages during the period that they are away from work campaigning. [passage omitted]

Medvedev Interview on Stalin Repression Victims

WA18300325 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 pp 5-6

[Interview of Soviet historian R. Medvedev: "A Tragic Statistic"]

[Text] *We have glasnost. We are learning a lot. And now, as I prepare material on the repressions of Stalin's times, I encounter figures on enormous numbers of victims. I ask myself: "Is this true?" Would AiF name the precise number of persons repressed under Stalin? (I. Romanova, Archangel)*

"This is a difficult question, and no precise answer can be given," we were told by well-known Soviet historian R. Medvedev, whom we asked to respond to our reader.

Stalinism concealed its crimes. No one made a precise count of those shot, resettled or who died of hunger.

Red Army burial teams went from village to village in the southern Ukraine in spring 1933, unable even to learn the names of the peasants who were covered forever by the soil of fraternal graves. Why do we only count the factory directors or brigade commanders shot in 1937 among the victims of Stalinism? And what about the families who lost a father, husband or son, and were thrown out into the street from the departmental house?

From 1927 through 1929 inclusively, "only" about a million people ended up in prisons, exile or political isolation. These were recent party members from the opposition parties, and "bourgeois" specialists, who, as a rule, had worked conscientiously in soviet establishments, but who, after the "Shakhtinsk Affair," were declared "wreckers." Arrests took place in all the republics of "nationalists" and "NEP men," who did not want to surrender to the state profits lawfully obtained in the 1920s. In rural areas, veterans, agricultural technicians, and members of cooperatives, who were declared members of the mythical "Labor Peasants Party," were arrested.

In 1930-1932 the fearsome blow of the punitive organs befell virtually all the rich peasants. Their homes and property were transferred to hastily created kolkhozes, and the entire family of a "kulak," prosperous "middle peasant" or poor "kulak follower" was forcibly resettled to Siberia, the Urals or the North—Archangel Oblast, the Kola Peninsula, or the Komi ASSR. Official figures on the expropriated kulaks were changed many times, and there is no faith in them. Statistics of 1926-1927 counted 5 percent of peasant houses, or approximately 1.2 million, as "kulak."

We can find roughly the same figure in the TsIK [Central Executive Committee] figures on the elimination of kulak households. According to accounts of eyewitnesses, only a few of the rich peasants, who had sold their property ahead of time, fled to the city. Given an average peasant family size of 6-7 people, this was 6-7 million new victims of Stalinism. We would hardly err if we added to this another 3-4 million "kulak followers."

No fewer than a million peasants were also exiled in 1933. The hope that the hastily and forcibly created kolkhozes would quickly give the country needed bread and other products turned out to be an illusion. Grain production declined, and the production of animal husbandry products fell even more noticeably.

In almost all the country's grain producing regions, a famine started in fall 1932, which in the winter and spring of 1933 reached the scale of a national calamity. Various authors now give varying figures on the peasants who died of starvation—from 3 to 10 million. From indirect data of the censuses of 1926, 1937 and 1939, the figure of 6-7 million persons who died of starvation in 1932-1933 can be accepted as the most reliable.

Probably no fewer than another 1.5-2 million peasants, mainly from among the poor, were arrested "by the ears," on the basis of new and extremely harsh laws, which contradicted the principles of kolkhoz-cooperative property.

In 1935 a massive new repressive campaign began—the expulsion of "class alien" elements from Leningrad, Moscow, and certain other cities. The families of former noblemen, merchants, capitalists and functionaries were expelled to remote provinical cities. Without great error, the number of expelled can be placed at 1 million.

In 1937-1938; i e., in the years of the Yezhov purges or the "great terror," from 5-7 million people, by my calculations, became victims of the mass repressions. Of this number, almost 1 million were party members. Almost 80 percent of pre-revolution party members, and the bulk of the party-state and economic *aktiv*, military leaders, and representatives of the intelligentsia who had been promoted during the Soviet period, were arrested. Of those arrested in 1937-1938, almost 1 million were sentenced to be shot, and the rest were sent to the camps. However, few of them lived long enough to be rehabilitated.

In 1939 mass repressions took place in the western Ukraine and western Belorussia, and in 1940-1941 in the Baltic region, Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. A large portion of these victims of Stalinism were rehabilitated only in 1987-1988, at the decision of republic authorities. The number of those rehabilitated is nearing 1 million.

The war did not stop the punitive policy of the NKVD. Already at the start of the war, trains with the country's German population, who were deprived of all rights and expelled, dragged on to the east. Overall, up to 2 million Soviet Germans were expelled, including more than 500,000 from the Volga German autonomous republic. Forcible expulsion to the east of the peoples of the north Caucasus and Crimea—Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Karachayevs, Crimean Tatars and others—was carried out in 1943-1944 at the decision of the GKO [State Defense Committee]. The overall number of Muslims expelled was approximately 3 million. According to estimates by representatives of these "punished" peoples, during the expulsion up to 1 million children, women, old men and sick people died.

Beginning in 1940, several more extremely harsh laws were introduced in the country, based on which, for being more than 20 minutes late to work three times, or having one unauthorized absence, workers and employees were tried, and could be sentenced even to 3-5 years in the camps. It is not yet possible to establish how many people became victims of this legislation (in the camps they were called "ukazniki" and "ukaznitsy" [persons sentenced for infringing labor discipline], and among them were many young people of 16-17 years of age). I think that this also involved 2-3 million people.

The NKVD organs were given a tremendous amount of work of "filtering" not only the surviving former prisoners of war or young people who had been marched off to work in Germany, and large masses of "resettled" persons, but also residents of the German-occupied territories, on which more than 60 million people lived. In order not to die of starvation, many of these people had had to work in enterprises and establishments created by the fascists.

It is true that the majority of these people were not punished, for otherwise it would not have been possible to restore the economy in the western oblasts. But, all those people who had been in the occupied territories were limited in their rights, and a considerable number of them were sent to camps nonetheless, in order to supplement the ranks of prisoners, which had thinned during the war years. It is difficult to count the number of people repressed without sufficient cause during the war years. But, I think that a figure of 10-12 million would more likely be low than high.

In the postwar years our country experienced a considerable number of new repressive campaigns—the "Leningrad Matter," the "struggle against Cosmopolitans," the "Doctors Plot," "destruction of the "Morganites-Veysmanites," etc. I think that about 1-1.5 million people were arrested in 1946-1953 for political reasons.

Thus, the overall number of victims of Stalinism reaches, by my calculations, approximately 40 million people.

The number of victims of the war, begun so incapably, also requires a special calculation. Even today we do not know the precise number of soldiers who fell on the battlefield, or were missing, captured, or died of starvation. But this is another topic, requiring a special discussion.

Ryzhkov Addresses Meeting on Railroad Transport

PM1402085589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Consultations With Railroad Workers"]

[Text] The labor of many hundreds of thousands of people ensures the around-the-clock functioning of the country's steel arteries. The normal activity of all the union republics and every region and economic complex and the prosperity of the people depend on the uninterrupted transportation of passengers and the timely delivery of fuel, raw materials, construction materials, foods, and consumer goods. The railroads account for approximately two-thirds of all the country's internal commodity turnover.

A broad range of questions concerning the work of railroad transport was examined at a meeting held 10 February between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the chiefs of railroads, subways, repair plants, and scientists in this economic sphere and members of the USSR Ministry of Railways Collegium.

An in-depth exchange of opinions took place on the work of railroad transport, on how to boost the effectiveness of transport operations based on the sector's current production and scientific and tehcnical potential and how, under conditions of radical economic reform, to enhance the role and responsibility of specialists, workers, enterprise and organization leaders for the results of labor. Although railroad transport has began to work more stably in the last few years, many of its problems have still not been properly resolved. N.I. Ryzhkov pointed out in his speech that this applies above all to the quality of the service offered to passengers on trains and at stations. There have as yet been no marked changes in this matter, and railroad workers are still greatly indebted to the people.

It was stressed at the meeting that during the current crucial period of restructuring extensive utilization of economic management methods and an increase in the effectiveness and quality of the work of railroad transprort and subways to serve the population and all economic sectors is increasingly coming to the fore.

As of 1 January 1988 the sector has been working under conditions of complete economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. This has had a positive effect on the results of work and on improving the financial position of enterprises and the sector as a whole.

At the same time it was pointed out at the conference that serious malfunctions are permitted in the work of a number of railroads, which is leading to untimely delivery of goods to consumers. Leftover undelivered freight, above all coal, timber, petroleum products, fertilizers, and mining and metallurgical raw materials exceed the normatives. Complaints are being received of untimely dispatch of finished output from enterprises.

The position with regard to railroad transport safety, particularly the cases of major acccidents involving casualties that occurred in 1988, is disquieting.

The new economic mechanism is not fully operational in railroad transport. Specialists from a number of enterprises were unprepared for the demands of economic accountability and self-financing, and the ministry has not always offered enterprises practical help in this respect. Intraproduction economic accountability is in many respects of a pro forma character and by no means all workshops, sectors, teams, and other structural subunits have been transferred to contract principles of working, yet that is where the fate of economic restructuring is being resolved.

Serious attention was devoted to questions of developing the social sphere in railroad transport. The attention of sector and enterprise leaders was drawn to the need to resolve social and consumer probems most speedily and above all to further develop the construction of housing and children's preschool establishments.

Summing up the results of the meeting, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers noted the need to mobilize all the sector's internal reserves in order to quickly resolve the social and production tasks facing it. A number of ideas were voiced on questions of supplying railroad transport with the requisite technical and material resources, in particular through the conversion of military production units and the extensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways; and senior workers from the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Gossnab took part in the conference.

Chebrikov Continues Tour of Rural Moldavia

LD0902225489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" Newscast; video report by correspondent I. Petkov, identified by screen caption; for additional reports on this tour see the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 45-49]

[Excerpts] Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov is continuing his tour of farms in Moldavia.

[Petkov] Today there was a tour of rural Moldavia. [passage omitted] [video shows Chebrikov and about nine other men entering a building bearing the nameplate: "State Agro-Industrial Committee of the Moldavian SSR—Scientific Production Association Progress." Chebrikov is then seen sitting at a table with others listening to someone giving a lecture illustrated with tables of figures. Next he is seen, dressed in white coat and cap, touring a pig farm]

Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov draws attention to the fact that, in these conditions, the prestige of the stockbreeder's profession is being increased in Moldavia, and the industry itself has boosted the general educational and professional standards of the staff. [passage omitted] [video shows farmworkers, smart houses; Chebrikov entering an official building]

Building is carried out mainly at the expense of the sovkhoz and its complex, the profitability of which is in excess of 70 percent. They still have a round million set aside for buildings and new roads. But, as still happens, money is allocated to the countryside in accordance with the 'what's left over' principle. This was discussed in conversations with Comrade Chebrikov. [passage omitted]

RSFSR Reduces Economic Management Personnel

LD1302223689 Moscow TASS in English 2216 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The economic management apparatus in the Russian Orthodox Federation has been reduced in the last six months by more than 180,000 staff workers, a meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers was told Monday.

The Government of the Russian Federation, the Soviet Union's biggest constitutional republic, analysed the implementation of the general plan of the republic's economic management, one of the most important economic development programmes adopted last year.

It is aimed at introducing economic methods of management and eliminating the administrative-command style of administration.

Considerable reductions in the administrative apparatus are to help greatly in achieving this goal.

It was said at the meeting that the enhancement of enterprises' economic independence has made it possible to reduce the number of subdivisions in republican ministries and departments by more than a third and nearly halve the number of their staff workers.

However, the process of reducing the administrative apparatus has been slow in more than 50 regions of the Russian Federation. The emergence of new economic structures is sometimes accompanied by an unjustified growth in the number of administrative workers.

The republican government pointed out that the improvement of economic management in the Russian Federation is not a short-lived drive but permanent work to set up a new management system. It took a decision to consider this issue once again in the next few months.

The presidium of the Council of Ministers also considered the development of the republic's foreign economic ties which have been handled since the beginning of 1988 by the foreign trade association Rosvneshtorg.

The extension of the association's business ties with foreign partners allowed it to increase its foreign trade turnover in 1988 almost to 450 million roubles and raise the republic's exports by 14 per cent.

Participants in the meeting said that the Russian Federation's foreign trade poential is far from exhausted.

They called for developing a long-term concept of the republic's foreign economic ties, which would give priority to the development of new cooperation forms, including joint ventures and co-production.

Estonian International Movement Draft Declaration

PM1402113589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 2

["Draft General Declaration of the International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR"—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA headline]

[Text] Socialism has inexhaustible potential for development because it is founded on social ownership of the means of production, the universality of labor, the equality of rights of all citizens, social justice, and humanism.

In the country at present, however, an administrative-bureaucratic model of socialism has been formed which is characterized by a combination of the functions of party and state, a monopoly of the state form of ownership, diktat and incompetence on the part of departments, violation of socialist legality and restriction of the individual's rights, and a relatively low living standard for working people.

The transformations begun by the CPSU in the political and economic spheres and the development of democracy and glasnost have weakened the system of administration by decree and led to growth in the Soviet people's social and political activeness, and to the emergence of various social and sociopolitical organizations which are setting the aim of implementing and deepening restructuring in the country. The International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR is one such organization.

I. General Principles

The International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR (Interdvizheniye) is a voluntary social organization created on working people's initiative for the purpose of enlisting the republic's inhabitants in implementing and deepening restructuring, and an organization which unites in its ranks workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, young people, and the nonworking section of the population irrespective of their party membership, nationality or race, or religious convictions.

The International Movement recognizes the leading role of the CPSU in society, acts independently and democratically in accordance with the USSR Constitution and laws, the Estonian SSR Constitution and laws, and the Interdvizheniye Declaration and Statutes, and cooperates with party, soviet, and state organs, labor collective councils, social and sociopolitical organizations, and other societies having aims and tasks in common with Interdvizheniye.

Interdvizheniye's task is not just to present constructive programs for improving the socialist society but also to carry them out.

Interdvizheniye advocates active participation by all the republic's healthy forces in solving the acute problems of the economy, social sphere, environment, and interethnic relations.

Interdvizheniye exercises the constitutional right to criticize party, soviet, and state organs and social organizations.

II. The Democratization of Society

Interdvizheniye advocates the creation in the Estonian SSR of conditions for the free development of every individual, family, individual nations and ethnic groups, and all society as a whole on a basis of fraternity, equality, and cooperation.

Interdvizheniye advocates the democratization of society on the basis of the radical reform of the political system proposed by the the 19th all-union party conference; on the basis of the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs, the revival of the power of the soviets at all levels, and the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power; and on the basis of creating a socialist rule-of-law state.

All the republic's citizens must have the opportunity for direct participation in the discussion of draft laws and other normative acts.

The courts must be guided in their activity by the law alone and must operate with an enlarged collegium of people's assessors.

Interdvizheniye supports the idea of creating a republic Constitutional Committee (court) and advocates the allocation of investigation to an independent organ, the improvement of the laws on the detention and arrest of citizens, and the right of judicial appeal against detention or arrest.

The democratization of society must be carried out on the basis of glasnost in questions of state and social life, and on the basis of regular reporting of political, economic, medical, and other information to the population via the mass media.

Glasnost must be ensured on questions of the activity of law enforcement organs, the state security service, and internal troops.

Interdvizheniye believes that the democratization of society must be conducted on the basis of socialist pluralism of opinions. Interdvizheniye, like other social organizations, must have access to the mass media to express its views on questions of social life.

Interdvizheniye advocates the free contact of the republic's citizens with citizens from other states and the citizen's right, in the light of specific conditions, to choose his place of residence in the USSR and in any other country in the world.

Interdvizheniye believes that questions of defense must fall within the competence of the USSR, and the solution of those questions must be the USSR's prerogative. For its part, Interdvizheniye advocates peace and general and complete disarmament.

Interdvizheniye proposes publishing the names of Nazi criminals and the actual organizers and active perpetrators of the nationalist gangs' crimes and Stalinist repressions on Estonian territory.

III. Economic Reform

Interdvizheniye advocates the development of the republic's national economy on the basis of the principles of Estonian republican economic accountability within the framework of the country's integrated national economic complex, on the basis of self-financing and cost covering and the self-management of labor collectives, and on the basis of the sovereignty of soviets of people's deputies of the appropriate level regarding the whole range of management questions resolved by them. Interdvizheniye supports the development in the republic of high-technology, resource-saving, waste-free competitive, and environmentally clean production units and technologies in industry and in agriculture.

Interdvizheniye recognizes a diversity of forms of socialist ownership of means of production, and will promote the development of contract relations and concessions, the creation of joint ventures with foreign capital, the leasing of individual state enterprises to labor collectives, the development of the cooperative movement and individual labor activity, and the transfer of land to peasants for use on an unlimited-duration lease. Interdvizheniye advocates the economic independence of farms in the choice of forms of economic management, including the creation of family farms, voluntary cooperativization, direct entry into the market, and the encouragement of their activity by a system of benefits and credits.

In conditions of Estonian republican economic accountability Interdvizheniye deems it expedient to reconstruct or, where necessary, to close inefficient enterprises and to create medium and small independent enterprises using advanced technology.

In state regulation of the activity of goods producers it is necessary to switch from methods of administration by decree to economic methods: taxes, subsidies, rent payments, loan interest rates, and so forth.

Interdvizheniye advocates the elaboration of plans for the development of industry on the basis of the republic's existing manpower. The existing artificial [mekhanicheskiy] population growth must be stopped by economic methods alone and not administrative ones.

IV. Social Sphere

A) In the Distribution Sphere

Interdvizheniye considers it necessary in the republic:

—to increase the share of resources directed from national income to consumption needs by increasing the efficiency of social production.

For the purpose of ensuring each worker's direct economic interest in the results of his labor and improving the economic condition of the enterprise (institution, organization), it is necessary to lift all restrictions on the size of earned incomes in the state production sector. Highly skilled and intensive labor must be highly paid. The centralized regulation of wages must be abolished and labor collectives must be given the right to determine themselves the scale of wages and bonuses on the basis of the end result of the enterprise's activity. Interdvizheniye condemns strong-arm methods of bringing people in to work on their days off on the grounds of "operational need";

—to define a subsistence wage and to guarantee a minimum wage and minimum pensions, allowances, and subsidies in accordance with it. The growth of prices for basic necessities should be compensated for by an appropriate increase in wages and other payments.

On the basis of an assessment of the social and demographic situation in the republic, Interdvizheniye feels it is necessary to solve the following problems:

—supporting young families by creating a special credit fund for the provision of housing and household articles.

It is necessary to create a republic mother and child fund which will ensure for all inhabitants of the republic the payment of allowances for the first 3 years after a child's birth and a reduction in working hours for working mothers with young children; the partial liquidation of credits allocated for the purchase of housing; the financing of children's preschool institutions of a family type; and assistance to large families;

—to raise the minimum pension, grants, and allowances to single mothers and allowances during the period of maternity leave and the raising of children at home up to the age of 2 years—to not less than the scientifically based subsistence minimum, taking inflation into account.

In conjunction with state and other social organizations, to participate in the elaboration of a comprehensive "Charity" program with the aim of creating conditions to enable invalids to feel that they are full members of society capable of playing their full part in all spheres of human activity.

Interdvizheniye supports the establishment of a new and socially fairer procedure for recording and distributing housing area according to period of residence, level of amenities, composition of the family, period of continuous work, and so forth. The republic's state dacha stock should be inventoried and suitable, underused state dachas should be transferred to ispolkoms' housing stock for subsequent reconstruction and allocation to families in need of improved housing conditions. All this work should be conducted under rigorous social monitoring and while observing glasnost. Rent for apartments must vary according to the standard of amenities and the comfort of the housing. Single and aged citizens within the boundaries of a given rayon or city must be given the opportunity to exchange one apartment for a smaller one, with corresponding compensation. To cut housing waiting lists it is necessary to provide each family in need of improved housing conditions with the unconditional right to join a housing construction cooperative or to engage in individual housing construction.

To solve the housing problem for young people it is necessary to develop the youth housing complex system, including not only the construction of new apartment blocks but also the restoration of decrepit housing in need of capital repair.

In supporting the program for the gradual rehousing of hostel residents, Interdvizheniye considers it necessary to use hostels for the existing contingent of people of no fixed abode in the republic and at the same time to create at enterprises job placement and social rehabilitation units under the supervision of job placement and public order protection organs and trade unions.

B) In the Public Education Sphere

Interdvizheniye recognizes the equal rights of all peoples of the USSR to receive education without any restrictions on social or national grounds.

Interdvizheniye recognizes the establishment for all schools, regardless of the language of instruction, of equal conditions with regard to class size (no more than 25 pupils), the provision of visual aids and computers, the use of sports facilities, and the nomination of education workers to conferences and congresses.

Decisions to change the period and content of study must be made with the consent of a majority of schools' teaching councils.

Interdvizheniye does not support the setting of school vacation dates different from the all-union dates, as this deprives students of the opportunity to participate in all-union cultural and sports events and excursions, and harms international education.

Interdvizheniye supports the observance of the principle of the separation of school from church and the atheist education of schoolchildren.

Interdvizheniye recognizes that all educational establishments, whether schools, technical colleges, vocational and technical colleges, or institutes, cannot remain outside politics. Interdvizheniye supports the communist education of young people based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, the moral and ethical inculcation in young people of love for the motherland, and military-patriotic education—because without knowledge of the past there is no future.

Interdvizheniye recognizes the need for basic military training of young people.

Interdvizheniye believes that each higher and secondary specialized educational institution must provide teaching of Estonian to Russian-speaking students and of Russian to Estonian-speaking students to the level necessary for work in their specialized area.

Interdvizheniye deems it necessary to ensure the right to receive education in both Estonian and Russian in all specialities needed by the republic.

C) In the sphere of Science and Culture

Interdvizheniye advocates democratization and glasnost in science and the independence of scientific experiments from manifestations of bureaucratic meddling and departmentalism. Interdvizheniye will assist the introduction of Estonian SSR scientists' achievements that promote the development of the republic's national economy and raise Soviet Estonia's standing in the USSR and abroad. Interdvizheniye supports the course toward consolidation of workers in the scientific and cultural sphere with a view to eliminating existing national and departmental barriers. Such consolidation can only be based on the principles of the equality of the nations and cultures.

Interdvizheniye advocates that all nationalities living in the Estonian SSR be given equal opportunities in the development of their national cultures and the satisfaction of their religious requirements.

Interdvizheniye supports the rectification of the situation created in the republic in the cultural and educational sphere, the establishment of dialogue between cultures, and their mutual enrichment.

Interdvizheniye believes that "cultural autonomy" engenders national, cultural, and linguistic isolation, and is not conducive to the mutual enrichment of national cultures. For that reason, while assisting the development of the cultures of all the nations living in the Estonian SSR, Interdvizheniye opposes the policy of national isolation pursued within the framework of cultural-national autonomy.

The creation of the material base for the even development of the national cultures of representatives of the different nationalities living in the Estonian SSR must be planned for the 13th 5-Year Plan period, and likewise the creation of a cultural center of the Estonian SSR peoples, and of an Institute of the Culture of the Estonian SSR Peoples under it.

Interdvizheniye supports not only the provision of the guarantees of instruction in the native language in general education schools and vocational and technical colleges, but also the guaranteed right to receive secondary specialized and higher education in Russian—which is the language of communication between nations—on a par with Estonian.

To improve the linguistic situation in the republic urgent measures must be taken to train teachers of Estonian for Russian-language schools and to allocate state resources for the teaching of Estonian to those categories of the population who need a command of both languages for their official duties.

To ensure free access to information it is necessary before the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan to expand television and radio broadcasting in Russian, provide simultaneous translations of television programs, increase the print run of the republic's Russian-language newspapers and magazines, produce newspapers and magazines in the main languages of the national minorities, and include in publishing plans the production of literature intended for sale in the republic to meet the demands of Russian-speaking readers.

To preserve the republic's cultural monuments it is necessary to prohibit modern construction in parks and historic parts of Tallinn and other cities in the Estonian SSR.

D) In the Sphere of Health Care

Interdvizheniye believes that workers in health care establishments should be paid in line with the principles of economic accountability and the team (collective, cooperative) contract on the basis of the end results of activity—the "health index." The medical support system for the population must be streamlined by creating territorial (regional) health centers.

To improve the environmental situation in the republic it is necessary to create a public health and epidemiological service that is independent of local organs of power and possesses real rights to halt planning, construction, or other work and close down environmentally harmful production units. The shipment services of all types of transportation must provide timely information on, and the public health and epidemiological service must properly monitor the transit of, environmentally dangerous freight across the republic's land or water. The chief physician of the public health and epidemiological service must be appointed by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and be accountable to it.

Interdvizheniye wants local soviets to provide a constant and regular supply of medications and reagents to general health and preventive medicine establishments, in line with the normatives laid down jointly by the Ministry of Health and the Estonian Republic Trade Union Council. Interdvizheniye urges labor collectives to develop economic incentives aimed at strengthening the population's health and citizens' personal interest in improving and maintaining good health and reducing harmful habits among the population (alcoholism, smoking, drug addiction, and so forth); it is necessary to resolutely put an end to the prevailing practice whereby it is more profitable for certain irresponsible citizens to be "ill" than to work.

Negative phenomena in health care such as excessive medical form-filling and paperwork and bogus checkups must be resolutely combated.

The siting and construction of a new health resort base and of residential homes for the elderly, and the reconstruction of existing ones, should, in Interdvizheniye's opinion, be carried out according to normatives that are constantly renewed in line with improvements in the population's material position.

E) In the Sphere of Physical Culture and Sports

Interdvizheniye regards as highly important the mass nature and accessibility of sports centers and facilities and the opportunity to choose to take part in any kind of sport without age restrictions; state financing should be maintained for mass physical culture only, and a system of economically accountable clubs should be introduced in professional sport.

Interdvizheniye does not support the idea of creating a Republic Olympic Committee as a section of the USSR National Olympic Committee.

V. Interethnic Relations

Interdvizheniye proceeds from the premise that the Estonian SSR is multinational in terms of its population. This can and must serve as a source of mutual spiritual enrichment of all nations living in the republic.

In a multinational environment there can be no place for national exclusiveness. Interethnic problems must be solved on the basis of the principles of socialist democracy and social justice, guided by the USSR Constitution and the Estonian SSR Constitution, and while observing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international documents concerning human rights signed and ratified by the USSR.

Interdvizheniye shares Estonians' concern over the fate of their language, culture, traditions, ethnic type, and existence as a socialist nation, and will support the endeavor to reduce the artificial growth in the republic's population above all by eliminating the practice of bringing in manpower from outside its borders.

This must be sought by socioeconomic methods: by mastering new intensive technologies at enterprises; by excluding the possibility of creating new enterprises that do not have manpower available within the bounds of the republic; by strengthening the state system for training and retraining skilled cadres; and by utilizing specialists who have studied at republic VUZ's or been sent by the republic to study at VUZ's elsewhere in the USSR.

Interdvizheniye deems it necessary for labor collective councils to monitor these questions.

Given that, for a number of historical reasons, two languages—Estonian and Russian—are actively used in the republic, and that the republic is economically able to ensure at state level complete instruction in only two languages, Interdvizheniye aims to enshrine the status of Estonian and Russian as state languages within the Estonian SSR Constitution.

The republic's inhabitants should have the opportunity to use either of these languages at all official events without restrictions and to receive official documents in either language as they choose.

Official business should also be bilingual.

The range of posts requiring a knowledge of Estonian and Russian should be defined.

Interdvizheniye will assist by every available means the implementation of a system of legal and economic measures to promote the natural and harmonious development of bilingualism, in the belief that any administrative interference in this problem leads to tension in interethnic relations.

Interdvizheniye supports the adoption of urgent measures to train teachers of Estonian in the republic. It deems it necessary to set uniform requirements for knowledge of Estonian and Russian for graduates of schools with Russian- and Estonian-language instruction respectively, and to study and adopt a program for teaching Estonian and Russian (if need be) to the adult population of the republic.

Interdvizheniye supports the creation of a republic center for the teaching of the Estonian language, which could subsequently serve as the Republic Center of Estonian Culture, and urges all labor collectives to play a direct part in the creation of such a center.

While acknowledging the correctness of raising the question of giving priority to the development of Estonian culture on the territory of the Estonian SSR, Interdvizheniye considers that the rights of all the other nationalities living in the republic to satisfy their national and cultural demands should not thereby be infringed.

Interdvizheniye supports the creation of interethnic relations commissions under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and local soviets, and considers that they should, among other things, be charged with examining questions concerning the creation of national culture centers, the use of the mass media, and the satisfaction of the religious needs of each of the nationalities living in the Estonian SSR.

Interdvizheniye deems it necessary, and will seek, to refer the solution of the most important questions affecting all inhabitants of the republic to referendums, with separate calculation of the votes of the two language groups. A question can be solved positively if overwhelming majorities of the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking groups of the population, taken individually, vote in favor.

In the conditions of a multinational republic forming part of the USSR, Interdvizheniye regards it as its most important task to foster a sense of patriotism and internationalism in every member of the new generation.

It is essential that these values—patriotism and internationalism—be organically combined and exclude both national nihilism and national isolationism. Historical experience shows that national narrowmindedness and chauvinist arrogance begin to emerge wherever the fostering of Soviet patriotism and internationalism is absent.

Interdvizheniye deems it essential to enhance people's accountability for actions that tend to disunite nations and for attempts to infringe citizens' rights on national grounds, and will combat such phenomena in the most resolute fashion.

VI. Environmental Protection

Interdvizheniye considers the improvement of the ecological situation to be a very important problem in the republic and believes that, in order to create an ecologically sound system of nature use, it is necessary to develop a scientific concept and program for ecology and environmental protection and submit them for nationwide discussion.

It is impermissible to plan any industrial or agricultural project without independent ecological assessment and public discussion of its results. The ecological knowledge and ecological awareness of both leaders and the entire population must be considerably enhanced.

It is necessary to establish a land register and introduce differentiated payments for land and water use; to ensure full compensation for damage caused to nature and the application of effective legal sanctions against the guilty parties; and to ensure effective control over the import, transit, use, and burial of substances dangerous to the environment and to people's health.

Interdvizheniye is in favor of ecologically sound agricultural methods. It is necessary to ensure that effective nature conservation measures are regularly carried out on territories within the charge of the Ministry of Defense.

Interdvizheniye considers it necessary to ban the planning of housing and public and administrative buildings without underground garages in Tallinn and other large cities, and to stop the construction in the republic of projects that are not furnished with antipollution installations, irrespective of their departmental affiliation.

Interdvizheniye will actively cooperate with other organizations, including foreign organizations, in the ecological and environmental protection sphere.

The main provisions contained in the program documents of international sociopolitical movements in the Latvian SSR and Lithuanian SSR were taken into account in preparing the General Declaration of the Estonian SSR Interdvizheniye.

The Interdvizheniye Coordination Council calls on all primary, rayon, and city organizations to elaborate on the draft General Declaration and contribute to the implementation of its provisions via real action in the work of restructuring.

Observations and proposals pertaining to the content of the General Declaration should be sent to the Interdvizheniye rayon councils or to the Coordination Council at the following address: 5a, Nakhimov Street, Tallinn.

Program Criticized as Unclear

PM1402121989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 pp 2,3

[Commentary "From the Editorial Office" on draft General Declaration of the International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR]

[Text] Let us try to compare three documents: the resolution of the 13th plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee dated 21 December 1988 "On the Program of Practical Activity...", the Program of the Estonian People's Front, and the General Declaration of the International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR (draft). We do not intend to make a detailed comparative analysis of them, but let us just see how close they are to each other, or, on the contrary, how far they are from each other.

A similarity emerges even in the preambles of both social movements' program documents: "Administrative socialism is in a state of crisis...." (People's Front Program), "...In the country at present, however, an administrative-bureaucratic model of socialism has been formed...." (International Movement Declaration). That is, both movements fundamentally assess restructuring's direction in the same way.

As general principles of their activity, both movements recognize the CPSU's leading role (true, the People's Front with the reservation that the Communist Party "can influence the People's Front via the activity of the Communists who have joined it"), and both operate within the framework of the fundamental law.

The similarity between the positions of the Estonian People's Front and the International Movement can also clearly be traced in the sphere of democratizing the political system in the sections discussing the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs, the development of real people's power via an increase in the role of the soviets, the conduct of state affairs in an atmosphere of glasnost, and the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial power and other specific proposals.

The economic section of the International Movement Declaration is much more laconic than the corresponding sections in the resolution and People's Front Program. This is understandable inasmuch as it did not have the same opportunity to involve specialists in their formulation. But even so, one can see in the International Movement's proposals an approach which is almost identical to the two other documents. This is republican economic accountability.

It is also interesting to note here the development of the International Movement leadership's views on forms of socialist ownership and on the change in the structure of the republic's economy. Until recently, during various International Movement mass events, speeches could be heard in which conversion [pereprofilirovaniye] of enterprises, the closing of production units, and the release of the work force in connection with the introduction of high-technology processes were assessed as directed against the Russian-speaking population.

Both in the social sphere and in the ecological sphere the draft declaration contains many specific proposals that deserve attention and support and directly chime in with the tasks of the republican party organization and with the initiatives of the Estonian People's Front.

In general, when you compare the above-mentioned documents, you recall the idea expressed by someone about 4 months ago that the People's Front and the International Movement program goals have about 90 percent in common.

The differences amount to 10 percent—just think how little! Is it worth finding a common language here? But in some cases this insignificant amount is so fundamental that it casts doubt on the possibility of agreeing at all. It is not a matter of minor differences such as, for example, the creation of a Republican Olympic Committee or the length of school vacations. It is a question of national relations and of the approach to solving this problem.

The desire to enshrine the two state languages—Estonian and Russian—in the constitution is laid down as one of the movement's aims in the International Movement's draft declaration. The main shortcoming of the published draft, in our view, is not that it includes a point which contradicts the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's line and the decision of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet—everyone must have their own opinion and the right to defend it—but that the International Movement's position on the question of ways to solve the problem of interethnic relations is not clearly and unambiguously defined in this document. To what are we referring?

The national question includes two main aspects. The first is the union one, that is, republics' relations among themselves and with federal administrative organs, and the second—the republican aspect—is the form of the indigenous nation's relations with representatives of other nationalities living in the territory of the republic. In the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee a specific approach toward solving the national problem is proposed. Namely, a sovereign national republic and the ensuing priority of Estonian culture (alongside absolute equality of peoples on the remaining questions) on the republic's territory.

The International Movement's draft declaration does not once mention Estonia as a sovereign national republic. Is this a denial of the proposed option? If so, then this should be said directly. In this case how do the document's authors see relations between the republic and the union?

The attitude toward the thesis on the priority of Estonian culture is not clear either. In one section the document's authors admit the "correctness of the question of giving priority to the development of Estonian culture on the territory of the Estonian SSR." And in another, the International Movement "advocates that ALL nationalities living in the Estonian SSR be given EQUAL opportunities in the development of their national cultures."

We hope that these ambiguities will be eliminated during the discussion of the draft. That concepts such as "sovereignty," "national republic," "priority of national culture," and so on will be clarified and revealed more fully. Whatever the views are on the solution to the national problem, clarity of positions is essential.

Latvian Draft Law on Languages Published

PM1302165589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 2

["Draft Latvian SSR Law on Languages"—SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA headline]

[Text] Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. In accordance with the Latvian SSR Constitution, the state language of the Latvian SSR is Latvian.

The status of Latvian as the state language does not affect the rights of citizens of other nationalities to use their native language.

Article 2. The state guarantees respect for all languages used within the Latvian SSR and creates conditions for their development.

Article 3. Citizens, institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Latvian SSR and their officials are guaranteed the right to use Latvian in both speech and writing.

Article 4. Along with Latvian, Russian is a means of interethnic communication in the Latvian SSR.

Article 5. The Latvian SSR Law on Languages defines the usage of Latvian and other languages in various spheres of state and public activity, citizens' rights and guarantees in their choice of language, and protection for languages.

The present law does not regulate the use of languages in domestic life, in communications between members of a labor collective, in USSR Armed Forces units, in institutions, organizations, and military schools, and also in defense industry enterprises.

Chapter II

Citizen's Rights and Guarantees in the Choice of Language

Article 6. In the citizen's relations with state organs and also with institutions, enterprises, and organizations the citizen chooses the language of communication, information, and documents.

In all organs of state power and state administration and also institutions, enterprises, and organizations—law-enforcement organs, health service, trade and consumer services, communications, transport, municipal services, and other sectors—workers whose duties include contacts with citizens must know and use both Latvian and Russian to the extent necessary to perform their professional duties.

The list of professions and posts where knowledge of Latvian and Russian is necessary and the degree of linguistic proficiency required by personnel to perform their professional duties are laid down by the relevant ministries and departments according to the procedure provided for by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

In official communications with people's deputies at any level in the Latvian SSR the citizen chooses Latvian or Russian as the language of communication; if the deputy has no knowledge of the latter's chosen language, the corresponding soviet of people's deputies must provide a translation. The information provided to voters about a candidate deputy must include information on his knowledge of Latvian and Russian.

Article 7. In official relations between a leader and subordinates, the latter can choose Latvian or Russian as the language of communication and information. If knowledge of the state language forms part of the subordinate's official duties or professional skills, the leader can use the state language as the language of communication and information.

Article 8. Speakers at congresses, conferences, meetings, and sessions held in the Latvian SSR are free to choose the language they use and where necessary the organizer provides a translation.

The organizing committee determines the business language and translation at international and interrepublican all-union congresses, conferences, meetings, and assemblies.

Chapter III

Use of Languages

Section 1. Language in Organs of State Power and State Administration

Article 9. The state language is the language of official business and of sessions and other working meetings in Latvian SSR organs of state power and state administration. People with no knowledge of this language are entitled to use Russian at sessions and meetings or, by agreement, any other language. Translations must be provided where necessary.

Acts of Latvian SSR organs of state power and state administration are adopted and published in Latvian and translated into Russian.

Article 10. Latvian SSR organs of state power and state administration use Russian or another language acceptable to both sides in relations with union organs of state power and state administration, institutions, organizations, and other union republics.

A language acceptable to both sides is used in relations with foreign states.

Article 11. When addressing citizens, Latvian SSR organs of state power and state administration and their officials use the state language pending clarification of the language of communication. In future communications a language acceptable to both sides is used.

Latvian SSR organs of state power and state administration and their officials answer applications and complaints from citizens in the language used by the citizen—Latvian, Russian, or another language acceptable to both sides.

Section 2. The Language of Legal Proceedings and Proceedings in Cases of Administrative Offenses

Article 12. Legal proceedings in the Latvian SSR are conducted in Latvian or in the language of the majority of the population of the appropriate territory. People involved in cases who have no knowledge of the language in which the legal proceedings are being conducted are guaranteed the right to fully familiarize themselves with the case materials and to take part in the activity of the court via a translator, and also to use their native language in court.

In accordance with the procedure laid down by law, the defendant and people involved in the case are given investigative and judicial documents in their native language or in another language which they know.

Article 13. A person against whom administrative proceedings have been instituted and other people involved in the case have the right to use their native language during the hearing of the case and, if they do not speak the language in which the proceedings are being conducted, they have the right to use the services of a translator.

The protocol on administrative offenses is drawn up in the state language or Russian, if the offender does not understand the state language.

Section 3.

Language in Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations

Article 14. The language of internal official business in institutions, enterprises, and organizations located on the territory of the Latvian SSR is Latvian.

The use of Russian in official business may continue in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and in setting timetables [for switching to Latvian], the real preconditions for switching to the conduct of official business in Latvian are taken into account. The worker is provided with official information in Latvian, and internal documentation is accepted from him in Latvian too. Subdivisions of institutions, enterprises, and organizations where official business is continued in Russian have the right to use Latvian in official business.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the republic use Latvian in correspondence with institutions of state power and state administration of the Latvian SSR and also among themselves.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations using Russian in internal official business may use Russian in communication among themselves and in communication with institutions of state power and state administration of the Latvian SSR.

When institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Latvian SSR correspond with institutions, enterprises, and organizations outside the Latvian SSR, they use a language acceptable to both sides.

Article 15. The language used for technical and planning documentation elaborated by organizations of the Latvian SSR is the state language if this documentation is designed for use on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations may issue technical documentation in Russian or another language in accordance with the client's wish.

Article 16. Institutions, enterprises, and organizations and their officials use the state language when addressing citizens pending clarification of the language of communication. In future communications a language acceptable to both sides is used.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations and their officials answer citizens' applications, complaints, and proposals in the language used by the citizen—Latvian, Russian, or another language acceptable to both sides.

Article 17. Documents which institutions, enterprises, and organizations issue to citizens must be in Latvian, Russian, or Latvian and Russian, according to the nature of the document, as the citizen chooses.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations must accept and examine documents presented by citizens in Latvian or Russian: A Latvian or Russian translation authenticated by a notary must be attached to documents in other languages.

Article 18. In institutions and organizations set up on linguistic principles (educational establishments, theaters, cultural societies, and so on) internal official business is carried out in the language of their choice.

Article 19. National cultural societies and their institutions and organizations conduct their internal business and also publish their printed matter and documents in the society's chosen language.

Section 4.

Education, Science, and Culture

Article 20. The Latvian SSR guarantees the right to receive a general education in Latvian or Russian.

The Latvian SSR supports the desire of citizens of other nationalities to receive an education in their native language.

If parents and children so desire, their native language may be taught as a special subject in schools where tuition is conducted in a different language.

Leaders and teaching personnel of children's and educational institutions must have a knowledge of the relevant establishment's language of tuition.

Article 21. The Latvian SSR provides tuition in Latvian in secondary specialized, vocational, and higher educational establishments in all specialities taught in the Latvian SSR irrespective of the educational establishment's departmental affiliation. In accordance with requirements, conditions are also created for obtaining education in Russian in these specialities.

Article 22. Latvian is taught in all the Latvian SSR's educational establishments where the language of tuition is different irrespective of these establishments' departmental affiliation. Graduates of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments in the Latvian SSR must sit a qualifying examination in Latvian. The Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education, in conjunction with the relevant ministries and departments, determines the degree of linguistic proficiency required.

Article 23. Further training is conducted in Latvian in the Latvian SSR.

Where necessary, groups are organized using Russian or another language of tuition.

Article 24. In the Latvian SSR there is freedom of choice of language for scientific work.

Academic degree dissertations may be submitted and publicly defended in Latvian or any language accepted by the specialized academic council.

Article 25. The Latvian SSR guarantees the development of Latvian culture in Latvian. The development of other national cultures in their native language is also encouraged.

The use of the state language is ensured in the Latvian SSR mass media; the linguistic requirements of other nationalities within the republic are also taken into account. The provision of comprehensive information on the Latvian SSR in Russian is ensured.

The Latvian SSR ensures the translation of movies and other audiovisual productions into Latvian and those produced in the Latvian SSR into Russian or another language.

The Latvian SSR provides advantages for the publication of books and other printed matter in Latvian.

Article 26. Regional and home-town [zemlyacheskiy] cultural associations can also use dialect in their activity. Printed matter may be published in the Latgalian literary language and Latvian dialects.

Article 27. National cultural societies can submit proposals regarding the creation of children's institutions, schools, cultural institutions, and periodicals operating in their native language. They also have the right to organize out-of-school educational and teaching work in their own language. Chapter IV

Safeguards For Languages

Article 28. Literary language must be used in public communication (documents, official business, official publications, radio and television broadcasts, educational establishments, cultural and scientific institutions, nameplates, signs, posters, programs, billboards, and so on).

The leaders of the various institutions or enterprises publishing these texts are responsible for observing the norms of literary language.

Article 29. The norms of literary Latvian are codified by the Orthographical and Terminological Commissions.

Observance of the Law on Languages is monitored in the republic by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Languages Commission and in rayons (cities) by the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

Article 30. Linguistic samples and language and linguistic monuments (books and other publications and valuable manuscripts) are collected and preserved in research institutions, archives, libraries, and museums and utilized and protected in accordance with the Latvian SSR Law "On Protecting and Utilizing Historical and Cultural Monuments."

Article 31. The names of cities, settlements, villages, squares, streets, and other territorial sites are approved, renamed, and changed in accordance with procedure established by law.

Article 32. The names of institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the Latvian SSR and their structural subunits are in Latvian first and are then translated into Russian or, where necessary, into any other language.

Article 33. The texts of seals, stamps, and forms used by institutions, enterprises, and organizations must be in Latvian and also duplicated in Russian.

The text of national cultural societies' seals, stamps, and forms must be in the state language in addition to their chosen language.

Article 34. Nameplates and signs of institutions, enterprises, and organizations are written in Latvian and on the right-hand side (or underneath) translated into Russian or another language.

Article 35. The principles and traditions of the appropriate language and the rules of transliterating foreign proper names are observed in writing and using personal names and surnames.

Article 36. Markings, stickers, and instructions regarding use of goods are written in Latvian and translated into Russian and, where necessary, other languages.

The names of goods produced in the Latvian SSR in standards and product lists are given in Latvian.

Article 37. Persons guilty of infringing citizens' right to choose their language and of deliberately publicly humiliating or distorting any language in official documents and texts are held to account according to the procedure laid down by law.

[Signed] Chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

NKAO Special Administration Progress Assessed

LD1202193989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Excerpts] For 3 weeks now a special form of administration, something unusual for us, has been operating in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko talks to (Robert Kacharyan), secretary of the party committee at Stepanakert Silk Combine, about how the inhabitants of the NKAO regard this.

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] How do you assess the current situation here in the NKAO?

[(Kacharyan)] The situation is still pretty difficult; people have taken the introduction of the special form of administration in various ways, and opinions are sometimes diametrically opposed, ranging from enthusiastic reception to complete rejection of this measure as a means capable of stabilizing the situation. The fact remains that the majority of the population currently awaits some urgent and rapid changes, both in sociopolitical life in the oblast, and in the economic, cultural, and spiritual spheres. If there are no such perceptible changes in the near future, the situation could take a different turn, all in all, and everything could return to what it was before. [passage omitted]

Time is needed, of course, but what is also needed is the wish, the firm desire to resolve these tasks. The assistance of the committee for special administration in resolving these tasks is also needed. What I have in mind is the subordination or transfer of a number of enterprises to the central ministries and integration of the economy, in general, with the economy of the Armenian SSR. A certain amount of work should evidently be carried out in terms of integration in the cultural sphere. I mean the cultural associations, here. The cultural sphere should be transferred altogether, not coming under the central organs of power, of course, but under the Armenian SSR.

[Omelchenko] Just a minute, I do not much like the word subordination. It is a word I have heard many say, both workers and managers in the NKAO; it is customary to always have to be subordinate to someone else. But now, as far as I understand it, the NKAO is an open [otkrytyy] oblast, and enterprise managers and collectives have been given full freedom to forge advantageous integrational links with enterprises and collectives, and to develop the national culture on an unlimited scale; there are no longer such impediments.

[(Kachuryan)] Well indeed, that point of view would probably suit the overwhelming majority of the NKAO population, but given the situation, a rather different conclusion is evidently needed. I do not wholly agree, though, in this present case, that all doors are now open here, or that we have become some sort of free oblast that is able to everything which it wishes. In light industry in particular, we operate almost 100 percent according to the state order, and this state order is set by the republican (?Ministry of Light Industry). As yet we have no free choice of suppliers. So the freedom you were just talking about is somewhat declarative.

[Omelchenko] You are coming out with national slogans and talking about the need to change the system of administration by injunction in our country.

[(Kachuryan)] Yes, indeed, it is my profound conviction that local organs of power, be they national or autonomous, have the right to choose—to choose their priorities in the speed of development and in the structure of various industries. In any event, there should be the right to subordinate economic interests to national and cultural ones. [passage omitted]

First and foremost, the Special Administration Committee should do everything to make the population really feel it is being directly governed by the central organs of power. The sooner people feel this, the calmer things will be here, and the more constructive work there will be at enterprises.

[Omelchenko] This point of view, incidentally, is characteristic of many of the inhabitants of the NKAO. But does it not seem to you that this point of view smacks of consumerism? The Special Administration Committee has come and is doing everything for you. The committee, I think, has come only to help you do things, but you have to do them yourselves, and you have to help the committee to develop your oblast.

[(Kacharyan)] Undoubtedly. No one will do this work for us. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Karabakh Committee Member Discusses Movement

PM1302122889 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 22 Jan 89 pp 18-19

[Interview with Karabakh Committee member Ashot Manucharyan by Sergey Grigoryants 29 December; first published in journal GLASNOST; place not given]

[Text] [Grigoryants] What are the Karabakh Movement's aims? [Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman] Arutyunyan accuses its leaders of wishing to seize power. Is it true?

[Manucharyan] The Karabakh Movement emerged as a mass movement as soon as the 20 February resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies became known. In that resolution the Soviet addressed the Supreme Soviets of Armenia and Azerbaijan, calling for the transfer of the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia. To find an equitable solution to this problem was the basic demand which gave rise to the Karabakh Movement, but that was just at the beginning.

In the next 2 or 3 months, the movement was not long in going beyond this single issue, putting forward a whole range of democratic demands, which are making themselves felt in our country as a whole—democratization of public life, the exercise of the people's sovereignty at all levels of the leadership hierarchy, effective economic reform, resolution of the problem of social injustice, and the resolution of cultural problems.

Hence it is the same range of demands upheld by the democratic movements in the Baltic states and many Russian cities.

[Grigoryants] What is distinctive about the Karabakh Movement?

[Manucharyan] In principle, this movement is based on the ethnic issue. Nothing else could have mobilized so many people from the outset. People gradually realized that the other problems which arise as regards democracy must also be resolved. This movement has now become one of the most important in the country.

Second, this movement came about as a result of the incompetence of many of the country's leaders. The decisions which they took settled nothing; on the contrary, they succeeded only in making the problem of Karabakh increasingly insoluble, thereby exacerbating the atmosphere of tension.

There is another specific point which distinguishes the Armenian movement from the mass movement developing in the Baltic states. There is a ramified system here which we call the mafia. This mafia has nothing to do with the term's meaning in the West. Here the mafia is a set of criminals who hold power; something that does not happen in the West. Here the members of the mafia are the ministers, the central committee secretaries, the chiefs of the bodies in charge of maintaining order.

According to rumors and statements by people who are very knowledgeable about the matter, the post of chief of the militia of a district section can cost R50,000, and that of a district party secretary up to R150,000. These sums are said to have increased considerably since the Karabakh Movement came into being—up to R350,000. And these are not fabulous sums. Those who receive these posts immediately make up for what they pay for them, although they are forced to hand over regularly to higher echelons a proportion of their illicit incomes.

[Grigoryants] What about the posts filled by election?

[Manucharyan] Before the Karabakh Movement, the posts filled by election were that in name only. In fact, they, too, were filled by appointment. There is machinery which, by applying the experience of the party bureaucracy and the nomenklatura to certain laws, enables this kind of machination to take place. It was possible for anybody to be elected to any post if the nomenklatura so wished.

This system has begun to crack because of the Karabakh Movement. The people have gradually begun to realize that they can cooperate to make the machinery really democratic, even though it is very difficult to set it in motion because of the fierce opposition of the nomenklatura, which sees that the people are attempting to wrest its most sacred privilege from it.

For instance, let us consider the election in Cherensavan. This is a small city, not very far from Yerevan. A post as deputy in the Armenian Supreme Soviet had to be filled, and the authorities put forward the candidacy of Akopyan, chief of the organization department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The people put forward their own—that of Academy of Sciences corresponding member Rafael Kazaryan.

From the outset, the authorities did everything possible to prevent him from registering. Then the pre-election meetings began, and one of the factories put forward his candidacy. At the municipal committee headquarters, the departmental electoral commission agreed to accept the documents, saying that the candidacy would be registered the following day. But they did not register it the following day, and the next day they claimed that, according to them, the documents were not in order.

But the population did not stand idly by. It was decided that everybody would cross out Akopyan's name on the voting papers and replace it with that of Kazaryan. The militia sealed off Cherensavan 2 days before the election (as far as is known, without even having the interior minister's authorization). I made an application. The interior minister made enquiries, and I was allowed to enter that closed city. During the campaign, I was specifically asked not to speak against Akopyan, and I was offered a large sum of money, its amount to be determined by myself, which I could use as I pleased, for myself or for it to be sent to the Karabakh Movement. I refused.

A few days later I was stopped on the road as I was going from Cherensavan to Yerevan. I was returning from a rally. I was told very politely, with charming smiles, that if I spoke again against Akopyan the following day I would be killed. I replied that until then it had not occurred to me to attend the rally, but after what they had told me I would go without fail.

On election day several dozen leaders of the black economy went there unexpectedly, accompanied by their bodyguard—all of them semicriminal elements. Altogether, there were between 200 and 300 people. What were they doing? Frightening people and forcing them to vote as they wished.

They were intimidating our activists and rigging the papers. At counting time there were 1,000 extra papers in favor of Akopyan in the ballot box. But even so it was to no avail: the state candidate did not win an absolute majority.

The threats did not cease even after the election—especially against myself. A friend of mine went to see one of the three prosecutors, who told him that the same thing would happen to his leader. Later, another of the three prosecutors came to see us at a rally, trying to persuade us not to attack Akopyan (this time without threats).

That individual told us that they were much in favor of our movement and were prepared to make us a donation of R50,000. Needless to say, our comrade refused, expressing the hope that there would be no more criminal threats from the authorities. The threats ceased.

Those same events revealed the mass movement's strength—a strength which those groups must now take into account. In the meantime, the mass movement was also dealing with other problems, ousting undesirable leaders from their place in the sun.

[Grigoryants] Are they paying attention to public opinion, or is it just that the people scare them?

[Manucharyan] The people have forced them to accede to their demands. In all the cases which I cited earlier, the people exercised their sovereignty. In the city of Alaverdi, in the Tamanyan district, the same thing happened. Nearly 1,000 people headed for Yerevan, demanding that the mafia—that is, the whole district party committee office—be dismissed from their posts. They won their case. Those posts were given to the individuals designated by the people. Even in the most remote places in Armenia, people are beginning to understand what democracy means, and are starting to reap its fruits. The same thing is happening in the enterprises. The main element blocking the economic reforms—which are almost openly discussed in the official press—is the party apparatus. It is the Karabakh Movement which advocates the reforms.

If Gorbachev had not contented himself in Armenia with the party apparatus' internal debates, he would undoubtedly have been very surprised to learn that in the enterprises in which people had even the faintest idea of what the economic reform was, they had learned of those measures through the Karabakh activists. Our access to enterprises is limited because they know that we are going to talk about the reform.

[Grigoryants] Is the central government aware of the existence of that mafia? Does it know the actual people comprising it?

[Manucharyan] "Mafia" is not the right word. The mafia is inseparable from the central government. In Armenia the mafia is more respectable than in Uzbekistan, but these are different branches of the same tree, whose trunk and roots must be sought in Moscow—especially in Moscow. Similar structures are not lacking in the Russian cities.

[Grigoryants] The committee's leadership is said to hunger for power. Is this true?

[Manucharyan] The committee is not pursuing power. The fact is that it does not allow those who have reigned so far to do so exclusively. That is, it is not just the committee but the Karabakh Movement as a whole which is undermining the foundations of the bureaucratic nomenklatura's power. We are undermining the mafia's foundations at all levels, including those of the pan-Soviet mafia, beginning with the enterprises.

It is natural that the corrupt and incompetent people, whom we are attempting to induce to resign from their posts, should say that the committee wishes to seize power, that it is having its own people appointed. But it is the people—not the committee—who are doing that. This is something that Gorbachev could have discovered by himself, if he had wished to clarify matters instead of contenting himself with the information which they saw fit to give him.

[Grigoryants] What were the relations existing between the Karabakh Committee and the authorities immediately after the earthquake?

[Manucharyan] It must be acknowledged that the movement's strength has forced the authorities to act constructively. The earthquake, as well as the salvoes of propaganda, has caused an interaction between the two sides on a certain number of issues. For instance, on the issue of the refugees, the government committee has had to include Karabakh Committee activists.

It became clear 9 December that we had better information than the official bodies and that we were better organized than they were and knew what shipments had to be sent as a matter of priority, and to which places. We offered our assistance in this respect to the government, which warmly welcomed it. Everything was very constructive until the arrests came, because the authorities decided to take advantage of the situation in order to put an end to the movement.

[Grigoryants] Where could the arrests and persecutions by the authorities lead?

[Manucharyan] It is difficult to answer that question. There are many variables. It depends largely on the people's activism, the stance adopted by the authorities, and the stance adopted by international opinion. Unfortunately, foreign journalists are presenting the situation somewhat inaccurately.

As far as I am concerned, I see it as follows: It is the first time that fear has been overcome in Armenia; it is the first time that an open confrontation has occurred between the people and the mafia's bureaucratic apparatus. The scales in the confrontation are clearly tilting toward the people. The Soviet and republican mafia wish to rid themselves of the mass movement. If the mafia suffers a defeat here, it could suffer others everywhere.

It is realized everywhere that a strong mass movement is needed throughout the USSR in order to avert a catastrophe which could affect us all. The great fear into which they wish to plunge us again by breaking the Armenian movement does not concern the Armenians alone. It is a sign to all inhabitants of the USSR that the apparatus is prepared to act again like Stalin if anybody dares stand up to its unlimited power. The defense of our movement is the whole country's cause.

[Grigoryants] Some Western publications are putting remarks about terrorist actions in your mouth. Have you any comment to make about this?

[Manucharyan] To take up arms in whatever circumstances is a provocation against the people. As even the bodies in charge of maintaining order appreciate, our words were the most effective factor for being able to restrain them.

Who has caused this state of mind among the population? I do not mean to say that the calls for violence come from the state; rather, from people serving it. What is difficult for me to judge is whether they did so deliberately or as a result of their utter incompetence.

Appeal Issued on Armenian Atomic Plant Closure

NC1402130289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 14 Feb 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published the appeal of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and of the Council of Ministers to all the republic's working people and population. The appeal states: The CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers, taking into consideration the wishes of our people, have passed an extremely important decision on closing down reactors of the Armenian atomic power station. The workers and the entire population of our republic welcomed that decision gratefully and [word indistinct] pointing out to the party's [words indistinct] shown for the fate of Armenian people.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers call on all the republic's workers and population to exhibit a high decree of civic maturity and to respond with profound understanding and conscientiousness to the measures being adopted by the power workers for economizing and making rational use of power in connection with closing the atomic power station and to participate most actively in the measures' unconditional realization.

Update on Armenian Quake Damage, Casualties

NC1102085989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Statement by the Press Information Center of the USSR Council of Ministers; date not given]

[Text] Although 64 days have passed since the catastrophic earthquake, the number of victims continues to increase. During the last week eight people died in hospital, thus bringing the total number of dead to 24,979. A total of 39,792 people were pulled from under the rubble by the rescue teams and constructors. In addition, 12,346 injured persons have been hospitalized, of whom 10,628 have been discharged after treatment, leaving 1,282 still under medical care. So far 119,000 people have been evacuated from the disaster areas, of whom 74,237 have been settled in the various hospices, health resorts, and sanatoriums of the country.

Yesterday R267,000 worth of assistance was received from foreign countries, bringing the total aid to R15,480,000.

According to the latest figures published by the republic's finance minister, R394,679,000 has been distributed in the form of temporary assistance and grants to the citizens who suffered from the earthquake and to [words indistinct] citizens.

The removal of the rubble from the Republic's destroyed cities continued yesterday. So far 768,000 cubic meters of rubble have been removed from these areas, of which 22,000 cubic meters were cleared yesterday.

Fields continue to be cleared of rubble, as well as the sifting of metal scrap from destroyed high-rise concrete structures. So far 762,000 [figure as heard] tonnes of metal scrap have been sorted and handed over to the state for reprocessing. Of this amount, 460 tonnes were sorted yesterday.

Around 1,850 hectares out of the 2,500 hectares allocated for new construction sites have already been handed over to builders.

The repair work on specific sections of highways and on gas distribution, canal, water, irrigation, and electrification networks is forging ahead.

Life is gradually returning to normal in the damaged cities. In Leninakan and Kirovakan some enterprises have started operations; the economic and public catering networks are expanding, and classes are being conducted under tents and in schools opened in temporary dwellings.

The sanitary and epidemiological situation over the entire disaster area is stable.

Lack of TV Reports on Quake Commission Criticized

PM1402160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 7

[G. Azarumyan letter: "Interrupted Broadcast"]

[Text] Esteemed editorial office! This is a letter from Gevork Azarumyan, inspector with the Armenian State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision. The fact is that Armenian television has stopped reporting on the sessions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission To Eliminate the Consequences of the Earthquake—and this, in my view, is quite wrong.

The point here isn't, I think, that glasnost is being restricted. Reports on the commission's work are ultimately published in the newspapers. But over the past 2 months we have all grown used to television reports—they are more detailed and up-to-date than newspaper reports, and viewers at home feel they are participating in the sessions and can assess for themselves the professional, organizational, and human qualities of the leaders of the country and the republic. Thanks to television millions of Armenians have gotten better acquainted with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and his deputy Yu.P. Batalin. The commission's work in the republic is now being headed by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the all-union government. I see no reason why the television should not allow us to get to know him better too.

Incidentally, the broadcasts of the commission sessions are not merely of intellectual interest. It is a good lesson for all businesslike people to see how state affairs are decided. Television reports also show who's who in republic and union ministry and department leaderships. They show how powerless are those ministers and deputies who are skilled only in spouting hot air! Such people, unfortunately, have been visible.... Could that be why the cameras were removed from the session chambers? If so, it's not too late to put them back.

[Signed] G. Azarumyan

Editorial Note

IZVESTIYA's Yerevan correspondent reports that Armenian television carried an evening report on a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission on 9 February. But, we feel, such broadcasts should be aired systematically rather than occasionally.

Comparison of Commission Criticism of Officials
PM1002132789

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 10 February 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 2 a TASS report under the rubric "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission" and headlined "Being Bolder in Making Decisions," on the 9 February "working session" of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the Armenian Earthquake Aftermath. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the translation of the TASS International Service in Russian version published under the headline "Commission Criticizes Armenian Quake Officials" in the 10 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 60-61, revealing the following variations:

Page 60
Column one

First paragraph, first sentence through page 61, column a, paragraph two, first sentence, reads in PRAVDA: [Text] Envoys of the Ukrainian Gosagroprom are setting a good example to the detachments of rural construction workers working in the earthquake-stricken northern regions of Armenia. They have pledged to halve the time taken to complete the entire complex of construction and assembly work to restore the installations entrusted to them. Without waiting for assistance from other quarters, the Ukrainian construction workers have carried out the entire complex of geological exploration work themselves and efficiently coordinated projects with the republic's architects for new houses and public buildings, which has allowed them to start on extensive construction work ahead of everyone else.

This, unfortunately, is one of very few examples of a responsible attitude to the work in hand—which cannot be said of dozens of other construction subdivisions from the country's oblast and republic agroproms which have come to Armenia to help in repairing destruction wrought by the elements. The progress made in this work was discussed at a scheduled working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission held 9 February and chaired by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The seriousness of the situation that exists at the present stage in rural construction work in the stricken regions is shown by the fact that, since the beginning of the year, the first-quarter program assimilating capital investments has been met by only 13 percent. The work of construction detachments from Volgograd, Novosibirsk, and Omsk Oblasts and also from Latvia and Turkmenia was negatively assessed by the commission.

The commission subjected... (rewording, adding passage)

Page 61
Column two

Paragraph two, sentence two reads in PRAVDA: ...come to light in the activity of the leaders of more than just these two organizations is a fear of taking responsibility for a decision accelerating the flow of work. Many of them are simply not prepared to quickly find the right answers to the difficult questions which they are faced with every day in this extreme situation. The commission demanded... (picking up last sentence, adding phrase, sentence)

Paragraph five, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the snowless winter.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the session. (adding paragraph)

New Azerbaijan Statistics Chief Appointed
PM0902154388

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 January 1989 carries on page 1 an Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, dated Baku 26 January 1989, signed by S. Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and appointing Azhdar Azhdarovich Aliyev chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Statistics.

The same newspaper carries on page 2 the following "Chronicle" report:

"By an Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 26 January 1989, Comrade Kh.M. Mamedov was released from his duties as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Statistics for serious shortcomings at work and for permitting an unhealthy situation to develop within the collective."

Azerbaijani Council of Ministers Chairman Profiled

LD1002132189 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan, February 10 TASS—Ayaz Mutalibov, 50, began his duties of chairman of Azerbaijan's Council of Ministers last week.

He began his working career as a mechanical engineer at a factory providing household electrical appliances, and was later appointed its director.

Later he held posts in the Communist Party and local government organisations. In the last six years he headed the planning committee in this Transcaucasian republic.

On Wednesday, Mutalibov chaired his first government meeting which discussed the republic's economic performance last year and in the last three years of the current five-year period (1986-1990).

The prime minister told TASS that his government is facing quite a few economic, social, ethnic and ecological problems.

"It is above all the government and the apparatus of the Council of Ministers that should rectify the situation," Mutalibov said.

"It depends largely on me whether conditions are created for apparatus members to show their best qualities, independence and initiative.

"They will now be able to spend one day a week at large enterprises rather than in their offices, which will give them a better insight into the situation in industry."

The new head of government has a high regard for science and advocates the use of computers everywhere.

His working day is filled to the brim. Although the transition of enterprises and organisations in Azerbaijan to work on cost-accounting and self-financing principles has somewhat enhanced the efficiency of social production, the republic has failed to fulfill plans for growth in national income and rates of scientific and technological progress.

Population migration due to ethnic disorders in Transcaucasia poses a special difficulty for the government. More than 150,000 Armenians left Azerbaijan. Nearly 30 per cent of them have returned home after receiving government guarantees.

The government is also facing a problem of providing numerous Azerbaijanians who fled Armenia with jobs and flats.

Asked whether he has had to change his habits and daily routine and whether he has any spare time, Mutalibov answered sadly that he "chronically" lacks time.

"If I ever have a few spare hours on Sunday, I prefer spending them walking with my sons at the seashore, I know no better way to relax," he said.

The prime minister said he does not have enough time for reading either, whereas periodicals alone require serious attention.

Mutalibov also said he likes folk, classical and jazz music.

Ukrainian Language Working Group Meets 7 Feb

AU1302192789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "An Important Issue Concerning the Language"]

[Text] As reported, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commissions for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, for Education and Culture, and for Legislative Proposals have set up a working group to draft amendments to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution on conceding the status of an official state language to Ukrainian, and a Ukrainian SSR law on the free development and equal usage of Ukrainian and the other languages of the USSR's peoples.

The working group is chaired by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences V.I Shinkaruk, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and director of the Philosophy Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The deputy chairmen are Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A.V. Myalovitskiy, chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY; and V.S. Burlay, RATAU director, both members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislative Proposals. The members of the working group are R.L. Barg, member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and design engineer at the Chernovtsy "Kvarts" plant; A.A. Birov, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic relations, and chairman of the "Prykordonnyk" kolkhoz in Vinogradovskiy Rayon, Transcarpathian Oblast; S.V. Danchenko, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Education and Culture, and chief director of the I. Franko State Academic Ukrainian Drama Theater in Kiev; USSR People's Artist V.A. Zheludkovskiy, member of the Ukrainian SSR Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and Simferopol Gorkom first secretary; M.S. Kichmarenko, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Education and Culture, and director of secondary school No 22 in Vinnitsa; G.M. Mushketik, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and

Interethnic Relations, and first secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union; N.A. Slavov, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of transport, and chief of the "Glavrechflot" production association; P.T. Tronko, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Education and Culture; Yu.M. Shramchenko, member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislative Proposals, and chief of the Kiev city and Kiev Oblast administration of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee; Doctor of Philological Sciences and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences A.V. Akulenko, chief of the Foreign Languages Department of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; G.V. Berezovskiy, chief of the Main Film Art and Videoculture Administration under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of culture; N.I. Borisyuk candidate of technical sciences, deputy chief of the Higher Education Administration in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education; Doctor of Juridical Sciences F.G. Burchak, Juridical Section chief in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.A. Vasilenko, professor in the International Law Department at the T.G. Shevchenko State University in Kiev; Candidate of Juridical Sciences M.A. Golodnyy, deputy chief of the Law Codifying and Systematizing Administration in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Justice; I.M. Dzyuba, writer; Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.V. Kopeychikov, professor in the State and Law Theory Department at the Higher Militia School under the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; Candidate of Juridical Sciences P.F. Martynenko, lecturer at the International Relations and International Law Institute under the T.G. Shevchenko State University in Kiev; D.V. Pavlychko, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union; Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences V.M. Rusanovskiy, director of the A.A. Potebnya Philological Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; Doctor of Juridical Sciences V.N. Selivanov, leading scientific fellow of the State and Law Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; Candidate of Juridical Sciences I.A. Timchenko, senior fellow of the State and Law Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; and V.G. Shevchenko, chief of the Main Training Methods Administration for General Secondary Education in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry for Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

At the organizational session on 7 February the working group defined the main guidelines for and the procedure of its work.

The session listened to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree noting that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Commissions for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and for Education and Culture had submitted a petition for introducing amendments into the Ukrainian SSR Constitution according Ukrainian the status of an official state language, while ensuring a harmonious development of native - Russian bilingualism and the free functioning of the national languages of all ethnic groups that live on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

Having found the petition submitted by the commissions to be timely and in line with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "On interethnic relations," the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took into consideration the memorandum submitted by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions on the subject, and instructed the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislative Proposals along with the Commissions for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and for Education and Culture to draft appropriate amendments to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, and a Ukrainian SSR law on the free development and equal use of Ukrainian and the other languages of the USSR's peoples.

The session of the working group was addressed by F.G. Burchak, chairman of the Juridical Section in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.I. Oleynik, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Permanent Commission for Education and Culture, and secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union; V.I. Shinkaruk, chairman of the working group; D.V. Pavlychko, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers Union; I.M. Dzyuba, writer; and L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and Interethnic Relations, and chief of the Ideological Department in The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The participants in the discussion emphasized that Ukrainian could be accorded the status of an official state language only on the basis of the Constitution. The draft law on amendments to the Constitution will be published for discussion 2 months ahead of the session.

The working group has to inform the public about the progress made in the drafting.

The speakers pointed out that issues concerning the official status of the Ukrainian language and the development of other languages had to be thoroughly examined. In doing this, it is essential to take into account the available experience of other republics, as well as world experience; to ensure that everyone has the right to freely choose their language, that everyone who lives in our republic is free to develop his or her spiritual culture, and that all people are equal with regard to all rights.

In preparing the drafts, it is essential to take into account the trends toward narrowing the sphere of application of national languages. It is also necessary to find juridical forms to defend Ukrainian culture and the language against our narrow-minded petty bourgeoisie that devoid of ideological and spiritual values.

We have a magnificent theoretical basis, the speakers emphasized: Lenin's works on the nationality problems.

It was also emphasized that there is a need to weigh every habitual verbal formula with more responsibility, and to discern formal elements from the real ones, particularly while dealing with bilingualism. This is a complex and delicate matter. It is quite right that a multinational state needs a language for interethnic communication. In our state, this language is Russian. But the formula of bilingualism must no longer be used mechanically without defining it more precisely and without emphasizing the task of defending the Ukrainian language.

In the law, the speakers pointed out, there must be no deviations from the principles of democracy and legality. In particular, we cannot forbid a mother or family from opting for the language of their liking. Free choice of school is one thing, and choice of language is another. In addition to the good knowledge of Russian, the Russian-language school should also offer knowledge of the Ukrainian language. It is essential to ensure that there is a sufficient number of Ukrainian-language schools, and to work more toward this. It is also important to show constant solicitude for the profound study and knowledge of Russian, which is the language of interethnic communication.

A.S. Chumak, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission for Legislative Proposals and chief of the Public Law Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the session of the working group.

The address of the working group is: Kiev-19, Kirov Street 5; telephone numbers: 293-06-89, 293-49-63.

Shcherbitskiy Article Circulated in UN

AU1302111589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Circulating a Ukrainian SSR Press Release"]

[Text] New York—**The Ukrainian SSR permanent mission at the UN has circulated a press release, "Corroborating the Ideas of Restructuring with Practical Deeds,** at the headquarters of the international community. It expounds the article by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, published in the republic's central newspapers, which analyzes the 1988 results and examines the tasks to be accomplished in the republic in light of the processes of restructuring, expanding glasnost, and democratization in Soviet society.

Uzbek Supreme Court Chief Appointed

PM0902154589 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 1

["Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Appointment of Comrade M.-B.M. Malikov as Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court"—PRAVDA VOSTOKA headline]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To elect Comrade Mukhamed-Bobir Madzhidovich Malikov chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court.

[Signed] A. Romanovskiy, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

L. Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Tashkent, 26 January 1989

Appointments, 'Transfers' in Tajik Reported

PM0902153589

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 January 1989 carries on page 1 two Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees, dated Dushanbe 24 January 1989, signed by G. Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A. Kasymova, secretary of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and announcing the appointments of Buri Bachabekovich Karimov as deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Tajik SSR Gosplan, and of Abdukhakim Khalimov as Tajik SSR minister of highway construction and maintenance.

The same newspaper carries on page 2 the following two unattributed reports under the general heading "Chronicle":

"The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium released D.Kh. Karimov of his duties as deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Tajik SSR Gosplan in connection with his transfer to other work.

"The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium released B.B. Karimov of his duties as Tajik SSR minister of highway construction and maintenance in connection with his transfer to other work."

Dismissal of Central Asian Mufti Explained

LD1102141589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Tashkent, 11 Feb (TASS)—An explanation of the reasons for the dismissal of Mufti Shamsutdinkhan ibn Ziyautdinkhan ibn Ishan Babakhan, chairman of the

Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, has been given by Kaziy Abdulghani Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the board. His statement, which is published today in Uzbekistan's newspapers, notes that reproaches were voiced recently against Mufti Shamsutdinkhan for deviations from Islamic moral and ethnical principles and the norms of the shari. He also had insufficient communion with believers and did little work to improve his religious knowledge. These and others reasons determined the dismissal of the Mufti.

Kaziy has given an account in the press of the work of the Muslim board. Since the Congress of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was held in 1982 much has been done to satisfy the requirements of the adherents of Islam in the region. New mosques have been opened, existing ones have been restored and publication of the Koran and other religious books has been carried out. A new building has been erected to house the editorial staff of the magazine MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET ORIENT and there has been a strengthening of the academic and material base of the Mir-Arab college in Bukhara and the Higher Islamic Institute in Tashkent. Links are being developed with prestigious Islamic centers and organizations abroad.

Kaziy stressed that democracy and glasnost in the USSR are having a beneficial influence on ensuring the normal functioning of religious organizations.

Language Issues, Republics' Multilingualism Viewed

PM1002120189 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Native Language"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] History has decreed that Russian become the language of interethnic communication in our huge multinational country. It is essential for every Soviet citizen to know it. But this must in no way belittle the role and significance of their native language for people of other nationalities.

And in addition it is a vital necessity for representatives of the nonindigenous population of a national republic to know the language of its people. National-Russian bilingualism and multilingualism in the national republics have become the requirements of our life and times. The implementation of bilingualism is a most important condition in affirming the Leninist principles of national policy.

We are now paying a great deal for the violations, distortions, and deviations permitted in the past. Including ignorance of the language. Some people do not know their own language, some don't know Russian, and others do not know either. But this is not our fault; it is our misfortune. Yet sometimes now the questions "Why don't you know the Uzbek language?" or "Why don't you know Russian?" can be heard on the lips of some people—loutish teenagers, and even respected people—as an accusation, a denunciation.

Perhaps instances of this are not so numerous but, you will agree, they cannot fail to cause concern. Ignorance of a language is used as an excuse to stir up unhealthy, hostile sentiments. Explanatory work is essential here, primarily with young people.

We know only too well, unfortunately, what pressure and constraint signify in the spiritual sphere and where they lead. It is impossible to acquire knowledge by force, and especially love for a language. An enormous amount of painstaking and, let us stress, lengthy work remains to be done, primarily in the educational sphere, for bilingualism and multilingualism to be implemented. Based on the principle of good will, this work must in no way be reduced to studying the language. The study of a native language is inseparable from education in patriotism and national pride. You cannot be an internationalist without a sense of national pride, without the ability to take pride in his people, in their language, culture, and history.

The price we have paid for the past is not only ignorance of the language. The language itself has suffered—both Russian and the country's other languages. The domination of bureaucracy, the bureaucratic way of thinking, work style, and attitude to people could not fail to have an effect on the state of the language. Cultural figures, primarily writers, sounded the alarm long ago: Our language is impoverished, is being leveled down, is drying up, and is becoming bureaucratic and contaminated.

So a great deal of work needs to be done here, too. Work to clear the language of harmful accumulations, to prevent it from being spoiled, to bring back its beauty, wealth, originality, its uniqueness, its living essence, and vitality in all its fullness.

Literature, philology, and linguistics have a particular role to play in this noble work. But for all their significance and indispensability, it is essential to be universally aware of that truth that the fate of the language, and its state, depend on all of its speakers. After all it the people who create the language. That means every one of us.

Baklanov Attends Electronics Industry Meeting

LD0902222389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] On 9 February an extended sitting of the collegium was held at the Ministry of the Electronics Industry on the results of the work of the industry last year and during the first 3 years of the five-year plan, and also the tasks involved in accelerating the development of Soviet electronics. It was noted that the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the development of the electronics industry is not being fulfilled adequately. The apparat of the ministry and the leaders were criticized for electronic equipment still being in short supply. Measures were outlined for effective work by the industry in the new economic conditions. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the sitting of the collegium. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the industry's aktiv.

Baklanov Visits Nuclear, Shipbuilding Facilities

LD1002235689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, today visited the Dubna Joint Nuclear Research Institute, one of the world's largest international research centers. Matters relating to a further improvement of the organization of work in deepening research in the field of nuclear phsycis, strengthening its experimental base, and also raising the level of training of specialists with higher qualifications were considered.

At the scientific production association of the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee examined the state of affairs with regards to the creation of new equipment. The task has been posed of eliminating within a short time the existing lag in fulfilling the task of enhancing the qualitative characteristics of output.

In the town of Dubna Comrade Baklanov acquainted himself with the organization of trade, public catering, and consumer services. Attention was drawn to the need to speed up housing construction. The CPSU Central Committee secretary took a detailed interest in the progress with preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

Youth Leader Popov Interviewed on Restructuring

PM1402120089 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, president of the Association of Young Leaders, by our correspondent D. Shevchenko: "Conversation With the President"—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Every major event in public life—and one such event is the formation, on the initiative of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, of the Association of Young Leaders of our country's enterprises: directors of plants and sovkhozes, chairmen of kolkhozes and cooperatives—must be evaluated from the viewpoint of the interests of restructuring.

What is the main question in restructuring today? In short, the transition from theory to practice. This transition is basically a struggle: Everywhere there exists a general problem of mobilizing forces capable of opposing the notorious apparatus and bureaucracy. And the Association of Young Leaders, like the recent congress of cooperative workers in Naberezhnyye Chelny, the joint founding congress of cooperative workers in Moscow, which formed an all-union organization of cooperative workers, and the long overdue congress of lease operators in the countryside and the city, are called upon fundamentally to change the situation.

[Shevchenko] How would you define the aims and purpose of the association you head?

[Popov] The Komsomol, as a political organization, is responsible not only for the ideological development of young people, but also for training a detachment of young people capable of rising to the captain's bridges of restructuring and taking the helm of our economy. The association should promote this.

In the next few years a large-scale "change of generations" will begin among leaders—if, of course, restructuring gathers speed. Naturally, every young leader will thereby be given the greatest possible opportunities. But he must learn to combine the qualities of a leader of the democratic type with the qualities of an administrator, a proprietor, and a businessman. To be a real organizer and administrator is not at all easy. It is even more difficult to be an administrator in conditions of democracy. I recently read this story in the newspaper: At the elections for the leader of a certain organization, one contender remained. But he refused to agree to the election until at least one other contender was nominated and until the meeting decided to hold a secret ballot. It is a leader like that, who simply cannot, who feels he has no right to command people and administer until those people have themselves elected him by secret ballot from among several candidates, who alone can be regarded as a true leader of restructuring. A whole epoch lies between the leader who has learned, however skillfully, to play administrative games, and the leader of an economically autonomous organization.

[Shevchenko] But that is the preamble. What specific tasks does the association set itself?

[Popov] First, to set up, as the basic grass-roots cell, directors' clubs and sections—from a quick response section to a directors' legal defense section. And to help set up cooperative and economically accountable centers for training young managers.

[Shevchenko] What do you regard as the priority problems for the association?

[Popov] The most urgent is active, organized participation in the election campaign and support for those candidates whose platform meets the interests of the association's members and our movement. The association council will meet in February for this purpose.

[Shevchenko] Gavriil Kharitonovich, you have been nominated a candidate people's deputy, and prior to that you took an active part in the discussion of the draft USSR laws on elections of people's deputies and amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution. Were any of your proposals taken into account?

[Popov] I did indeed put forward a number of proposals in the press on the reform of the political system. But I should explain in general terms. When I submit a particular proposal, I am not by any means working on the basis of a conviction that it should immediately be adopted without fail. Social development is a complex process. It is the result of the activeness of all social forces in society. Therefore I see my contribution first and foremost in creating a counterweight to the pressures that originate, in V.I. Lenin's words, "from the dustiest corners of our apparatus"—people with Neandarthal ideals.

From this point of view I am very satisfied with my participation in the debate on the reform of the political mechanism and, earlier, my participation in the discussion of problems of the development of intraparty democracy.

I am sure that the complexities of the present system will prove to be more significant than they at first appeared. There will be much confusion, but in the end I hope the ideas I have put forward will be subjected to practical consideration.

Specifically, I proposed the following. First, there should not be "favored" and "underprivileged" deputies in the congress of people's deputies—those who get onto the Supreme Soviet and those who are never once part of it. I proposed a system whereby every deputy would sit on the Supreme Soviet 1 year in 5, without fail. Second, I proposed that the number of seats for each social organization be set not for the Union as a whole, but for each republic and region. And not arbitrarily, from above, but according to a preliminary confidential study of the voters' attitudes toward these organizations on their registration. Third, I proposed that candidate deputies be registered according to the most precise objective criteria. And, fourth and last, I proposed that elections not be held if only one candidate remains on the list for one seat.

[Shevchenko] Many of our readers are distressed because various proposals of theirs concerning the new mechanism of elections were not adopted and because the law, in their opinion, contains much that is contentious. Therefore they were passive and even indifferent about reelections in party organizations, and now the elections of people's deputies too.

[Popov] That is a very important question. In my view the tactics of vanguardism and maximalism, consisting in the formulation of categorical demands followed by boycotts and resignations in the event of the demands not being adopted, are absolutely unacceptable. This can only weaken the front of restructuring. V.I. Lenin taught us that you have to know how to work even in the most reactionary trade unions. Conceding to conservatives' positions that we have gained is absolutely unacceptable.

[Shevchenko] We inherited as a burden from the past an excessive readiness to allow for "existing conditions".... Is not something of the kind happening now?

[Popov] You have to see both sides of this problem. One side is tactics in the struggle for your ideas, taking into account all the difficulties of the situation, and the other side is concessions in the ideological position itself. Ideological bargaining and appeasement is one thing, a realistic approach to the situation is another. You cannot put any ideas into practice without tactics of some kind.... It seems to me that sometimes even the sincere supporters of restructuring fail to realize this. It follows from their reasoning, if you generalize, that any criticism of maximalist approaches weakens restructuring. But in that case, for instance, the Bolsheviks were wrong to come out against the demands of the working people of Petrograd in July 1917 to hand over power to the Soviets immediately, on the grounds that they were premature and could only help the counterrevolution (which proved to be the case).

That is a general argument. To put it in concrete terms, the new law on elections, although it does not include a number of important measures—those I wrote about and those that other authors wrote about—in general marks an **enormous step forward**. And it would be quite unforgivable not to make use of the potential for deepening restructuring that it offers and to take the path of boycotting it for the sake of success in the struggle for a more acceptable version of the electoral system. We must seek a better version. But first we must uncover the potential for success with the present form of elections and, on the basis of that success, go further. Or else convince ourselves **in practice** of the complete impossibility of conducting the struggle for restructuring within the framework of the new electoral system.

[Shevchenko] Where specifically do you see opportunities for deepening restructuring today?

[Popov] First, we need a wide discussion of the problems of restructuring at the stage of the nomination of candidates.

Second, in every collective there are a great many social organizations. All those who nominated candidates now have the right to demand that representatives from "above" address the primary organizations to explain at what stage and on the strength of what votes other candidates were preferred, who nominated them, and so forth. All this is important for the future.

After the registration of candidates it is possible actively to discuss their platforms, summon them for meetings, and give them mandates [nakazy]. A mandate is a document that can form the basis for demands for the early recall of a deputy.

A very important field of activity for supporters of restructuring is neighborhood meetings of voters. This form too should be used. The experience in the Moscow residential district of Brateyevo, which was discussed at a recent innovators' forum, shows that a great deal can be done in neighborhoods.

And, finally, we must always remember the right to complain to the electoral commissions about actions of any kind and the right to complain about the actions of the electoral commissions themselves.

In general, opportunities to use the elections to step up the struggle for restructuring are considerable even under the present electoral law.

[Shevchenko] And what precisely should we be struggling for? Surely there will not be any opponents of restructuring among the candidates? Everyone agrees with the party's platform and its decisions, especially the 19th party conference resolutions. So what is there to argue about?

[Popov] First of all, elections are a procedure in the course of which even those who disagree with those decisions, whether wholly or in part, can operate. That is what the elections are for, so that the whole spectrum of our society's positions can emerge.

The question of the candidates' personalities is also a subject of debate and polemics. People who are known for their energetic activity in restructuring are one thing, people who are simply honest and conscientious, but passive supporters are another.

[Shevchenko] What is the most important aspect of a candidate's personality, for you?

[Popov] The skills of a political fighter. A deputy is not a theorist or a writer. He must be at the sharp end of the struggle. I interpret the concept of a "fighter" broadly: It includes firmness, the skill of canvasing, the skill of making contact with voters, the talent of an orator, the ability to attract people, and much more. It is a special social type that has not existed in our society for a long time, since the time of the revolution. And it will take a long time to develop the social model of the deputy....

[Shevchenko] But is it possible, in choosing candidates, to make do with criteria for evaluating their personalities?

[Popov] No, of course not. It is also necessary to evaluate another, equally important indicator: what specifically the candidate proposes.

[Shevchenko] For his own electoral district?

[Popov] For his own district too. After all, the sector is a touchstone. Many voters cannot very easily grasp the general ideas of restructuring, least of all in verbal disputes. But they know their own current problems very well. And the candidates' attitude toward these concrete problems are the litmus paper that will show the candidate in his true colors. His attitude toward apartment blocks obstructed by snow, faucets that freeze up, leaky roofs, schools without sports halls, workshops without shower rooms, empty canteens and buffets in hostels, waiting lines in stores, and the dozens of other equally graphic "measuring instruments"—that is the deputy's visiting card.

That is why local problems and the candidate's pledge to raise them in this or that form are fundamental to the election campaign. All the same, what is most important is the candidate's platform with regard to the main cause in our life—restructuring as a whole.

[Shevchenko] Can supporters of restructuring have different platforms, in your view?

[Popov] Surely any restructuring measure could be implemented in various different forms. Therefore the supporters of the general platforms of the party, trade unions, or Komsomol, unless they are mere extras, cogs, unthinking executors of the bosses' will, should have their own views, their own approaches, their own stance. Whatever is in question—glasnost, inventions, the death penalty, monetary reform, the cooperatives.

The logic of restructuring's course of organically combining centralism and autonomy demands from everyone, especially the candidate deputies, a clear **personal stance**.

[Shevchenko] But in that case, will this situation not arise: as many opinions as there are candidates? Will not the voter, on meeting with the candidates, find himself in the situation of Agafya Tikhonovna in Gogol's "Marriage," who wanted to combine one suitor's nose with another's free and easy character?

[Popov] Or, to put it differently: Is it possible to find any centers of gravity in the inevitable pluralism of the candidates' opinions? In my view the whole diversity of positions in our restructuring is in fact concentrated around two main approaches: the apparatus approach and the democratic approach.

In the apparatus there are, of course, different people, and there are those who think, for instance, that restructuring will simply go astray without detailed instructions and day-to-day solicitousness from them. They simply cannot understand that revolutions based on instructions and decrees take place only in the pages of the [Stalinist] "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)."

The apparatus understands the inevitability of restructuring and wants it. But the apparatus was largely molded by the braking mechanism, and is itself most in need of restructuring.

Departing from the command principle means replacing leaders in the apparatus, in dozens of its components. The apparatus can conceive of replacements. But only in terms of reshuffles. What if a particular chief has to go just because the voters find him unacceptable? If the lease operators, instead of obediently following the instructions on the lease, demand the removal of the authors of those instructions? In cases like this, the apparatus will resist.

[Shevchenko] What is wrong with the apparatus path?

[Popov] Genuinely revolutionary changes can only be the work of the masses themselves and their organizations—including our organization.

[Shevchenko] But did this opportunity not exist before? For instance, during the formulation of the 1987 decisions?

[Popov] The opportunity theoretically existed. But the question of the realism of the democratic option is directly connected with whether there are social forces in society that are oriented toward this option by virtue of the very conditions of their life.

Until the mid-fifties kolkhoz members used to elect a chairman and fight fiercely for "their" candidate. Then—until our own day—people suddenly lost interest in these elections. Why, one wonders? Because until the mid-fifties the kolkhoz members' labor remuneration depended wholly on their labor and accordingly on the chairman. Then guaranteed labor remuneration was introduced, and the interest in elections lost its former keenness. When one set of material conditions existed, one position existed with regard to the institution of elections, orienting them toward real democracy; when the conditions changed, a different position emerged.

We often try, figuratively speaking, to find an answer in Marx and Engels to the question of how many head of livestock you should have on your personal plot. Yet we give no thought to what really matters, namely the method of Marxism. The year 1988 was the 140th anniversary of the "Communist Manifesto." Why, according to Marx and Engels, was the replacement of capitalism inevitable?

[Shevchenko] I remember that from tests and examinations. They argued that capitalism digs its own grave, and cannot do otherwise, precisely because it is capitalism. And also that capitalism, by living strictly according to its own laws, prepares the ground for the new system.

[Popov] Full marks. So if you employ that way of thinking, the democratic option arises from the contradictions, shortcomings, and impasses of the apparatus path. The apparatus fails to meet the population's demand and supply their daily needs—so cooperatives appear. The apparatus cannot feed the people—so the idea of tenant farming [fermerstvo], the lease system, "begins to be" acceptable. Technical progress is going badly—so there is more freedom for scientists and inventors. A ministry ruins some of its own sector's plants—so it starts offering them for lease. But the lease operators and cooperative workers are forces that live in a new way, and therefore the real alternatives to the old are the forces that dig its grave. And the more passive the existing apparatus is in the cause of restructuring, the more active these alternative forces will be. This real process is what forms the main base for the democratic version of restructuring.

[Shevchenko] So what do you propose? Specifically.

[Popov] The democratic platform should be formulated as a result of debate, in the course of discussion, and—most important—as a generalization of the will of those who need it. We in the association propose to embark on this work. But of course, I recognize the significance of theoretical analysis, and I have some initial ideas on the platform. So as not to waste space in the newspaper, I will resort to the form of short theses.

1. Introduce the lease system, joint-stock companies, cooperatives, and individual enterprises everywhere. They all operate on a single system—the cooperative system.
2. Development of long-term family or personal tenant-farmer leasing of land from local soviets. Preservation of only those kolkhozes and sovkhozes that are able to compete with tenant farmers.
3. Lifting of all restrictions on size of wages, time worked, combining of jobs, and so forth. The only regulator to be progressive taxation.
4. Distribute ownership of state property among the center, republics, (krays, oblasts), and local soviets. Republics and regions to receive income according to the results of the labor of their peoples, their inhabitants.
5. Concentration of the center solely on tackling problems of key significance for the whole country, confining its influence first and foremost to economically advantageous orders that are not administratively compulsory. Economic responsibility of the center, economic incentives for its workers based on the results of their efforts.
6. Reduction—in the conditions of enterprises' autonomy—in management apparatuses at every level by a factor of 5-10.
7. Most prices to be the result of the market, not of conditions set by pricing organs. Drafting of antimonopoly legislation to prevent overpricing. Introduction of the convertible ruble for enterprises and the population.
8. Retain in the state's hands state orders for a guaranteed proportion of essential goods and trade in them at firm state prices.

9. Adjust all firm state payments to working people annually in the light of the price index for the past year.

10. Calculate the price index from 1960 and increase all pensions in the country accordingly; adjust pensions annually according to the changing price index.

11. All those dismissed and made redundant to be paid their former wage for 1 year at the state's expense. The state to organize job placements.

12. Pay women with children under the age of 10 a monthly state wage.

13. Give the worker the opportunity to move from one job to another and freely change his place of residence. All state apartments to be handed over to their owners. Free, to those whose length of service is 25 years or more; and to others, at prices that fall as the length of service increases. Permit the free sale of apartments and grant free residence permits.

14. Free availability for lease of plots of up to one-fourth of a hectare of suitable agricultural land in a zone within half an hour's travel from the city.

15. Grant interest-free credit to a young family on the birth of the first child, to buy a plot and build their own home.

16. State monitoring of all large-scale financial expenditure, savings bank accounts, and incomes.

17. Monitoring by consumer societies of the range of food products and the quality of other goods.

18. Hand over all environmental monitoring inspections and laboratories to local nature conservation societies.

19. Ensure that citizens of all nationalities have equal rights to the study of the language and the development of their own culture in any region of the country regardless of whether the nation has a republic or other national autonomous formation.

20. Newspapers, journals, and television and radio programs to be under the jurisdiction solely of elected bodies—congresses, councils, and plenums of creative unions. Set up a cooperative press.

[Shevchenko] You have listed many things, of different degrees of significance. Which of your ideas do you think is paramount, fundamental?

[Popov] I regard the problem of changing property relations as the main, fundamental problem. It is necessary to find a new means of realizing the social ownership that is inherent in socialism. After the revolution we realized **social** ownership in the form of **state** ownership. Life has shown that this led first to the Administrative System, and then to the braking mechanism. It is necessary also to create all the conditions for the development of cooperative and personal ownership and ownership by social organizations. If these substantially "squeeze out" state ownership, for instance, by means of the purchase of leased plants by labor collectives that become cooperatives or joint-stock companies accordingly, this will be an entirely natural means of bringing social ownership into line with a structure that accords with the level of production forces.

All the same, state ownership will probably remain fundamental. And the task will be (is already) this: How do you combine state ownership with... the quest for proprietors? The state, while remaining the owner, distributes its posessions among its own components: the USSR, the republics, local soviets. They, in turn, grant the rights of disposal and use to the labor collectives. There will be proprietors who are economically independent of the center—and there will be **real democracy in society**.

Zaykov on Experiment To Fight Bureaucratism

LD1102220089 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1053 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Feb (TASS)—As an experiment in the area of kray and oblast party organizations and in line with the decisions of the 19th CPSU conference, control and auditing commissions have been combined in Moscow and Kiev. Their tasks were discussed on Friday at a meeting between Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow gorkom, and members of the Presidium of the control and auditing commission of the Moscow party organizations and chairmen of the control and auditing commissions of the capital's rayon party organizations. At the meeting, Lev Zaykov spoke. If the control and auditing commissions fulfill their obligations, he said, this will be an opportunity to provide guarantees against conservatism and bureaucratism developing in the actions of party and state cadres in the city party organization. The party control organs must tackle the main problems themselves, Lev Zaykov said, singling out the implementation of the socio-economic program of the city's development in line with the comprehensive territorial-sector program "Progress-95."

The Moscow party organization leader dwelled on questions concerning relations between the control and auditing commissions and raykoms. They must be built on the basis of cooperation, he noted. If the rayon party organization demonstrates political leadership, the control and auditing commission will be required as a supervisory body to remove the causes of negative phenomena. While previously the party controlling bodies operated under the leadership of party committees, now they are independent bodies, subordinated like party committees to the conferences. The control and auditing commissions have been given the right within the limits of power to present to conferences their decisions about the activities of appropriate party committees. Lev Zaykov expressed confidence that the work of party committees and control and auditing commissions will develop a most important aspect in internal party relations: party comradeship and coordination in restructuring all walks of life in Soviet society.

Ligachev, Writers Group Discuss 'Today's Village'

LD0802225889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] A meeting between Comrade Ligachev and a group of writers from Russia and the Ukraine was held in Kharkov. They discussed problems of today's village.

Jewish Culture Center Opens in Moscow

LD1302171889 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Ruben Shirinyan:

A Jewish cultural centre that opened here today will provide information on various aspects of the life of Soviet Jews, the development of their national art and literature. The centre located in the premises of the Jewish chamber musical theatre was named after Solomon Mikhoels, an outstanding Soviet actor and theatre producer.

Exhibitions and meetings with prominent Jewish cultural personalities, artists, actors, writers and politicians will be held there. Yiddish and Hebrew classes will be opened.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, Mikhail Gluz, director of the centre and artistic director of the Jewish musical theatre, said that the goal of the centre's activities was the study and further development of Soviet Jewish culture. "The work of the centre will promote mutual enrichment of the national cultures of all the nations inhabiting the Soviet Union. The development of relations with democratic cultural organisations of Jewish communities abroad will be an important direction of our work", Gluz pointed out.

"The creation of the Jewish cultural centre in Moscow is a memorable event not only for Soviet Jews. Its activities will become a new impetus for the expansion of international cultural contacts", Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress who attended the opening ceremony, told TASS.

Together with prominent personalities of Jewish Soviet culture, dozens of guests from the United States, Israel and European countries took part in the opening ceremony. Heads of a number of diplomatic missions accredited in the USSR were also present there.

* Unusual Self-Criticism by Turkmen Minister Noted

WA18300311 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by V. Kuleshov, special correspondent from TuSSR: "Turkmen SSR"]

[Text] "...I must say straight out that not a single leader in any of the republic's ministries was held strictly responsible for his failure to fulfill his electoral mandate.... As cause of this I see above all my own serious shortcomings and mistakes in the activities of the republic council of ministers and executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies...."

For many years the TuSSR's Supreme Soviet assembly hall had not heard from the lips of the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet such frank self-criticism and specific charges directed at the members of the Turkmen government and its departmental leadership. It would be wrong to explain this critical discussion by saying only that it was the first time in many, many years that the session's agenda included an accounting of the republic council of ministers concerning the implementation of its electoral mandates, and concerning the criticism and proposals expressed at earlier forums by the deputies at the TuSSR Supreme Soviet. No, the serious criticism directed specifically at the republic government and at leaders of various departments by TuSSR council of Ministers chairman A. Khodzhamuradov and by deputies Sh. Ashirov, N. Baleshev, A. Zhadan, B. Kerimi, O. Ilbayeva and others, demonstrated that the council of ministers, as well as its accountable ministries charged with implementing the electoral mandate, not only failed to monitor its fulfillment but were occasionally themselves guilty of being in no hurry to implement it. There were many examples cited.

As early as the last Five-Year-Plan, the subdivisions of GLAVKARAKUMSTROY undertook the construction of a school in Tedzhen in accordance with the electoral mandate. They promised to commission the 1.23 million ruble facility in three years. But less than 40-50 thousand rubles annually were budgeted for the construction of the school, and the project was finally abandoned.

The session observed that there were frequent instances when the leaders of the ministries and departments, as well as Soviet executive committees, tried to resolve their shortcomings in planning by giving speeches in the deputies' forums, and they spoke at the sessions not as representatives of their constituencies but as plenipotentiaries of their departments.

S. A. Niyazov, TuSSR Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, participated in the work of the session.

* New Investigative, Court Procedures Assessed

WA18000428 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Conversation between IZVESTIYA commentator Yu. Feofanov and USSR MVD Academy Docent Colonel V. Petelin: "False Witnesses"]

[Text] Until recently an indictment in a criminal case was frequently the equivalent of a sentence. Restructuring has changed this judicial practice. The court has been acting as a court should. This immediately triggered a number of problems concerning the preliminary and judicial investigations. Some such problems were the topic of a dialogue between Yu. Feofanov and Colonel V. Petelin, USSR MVD Academy docent.

In a number of reactions to publications on legal subjects investigators have complained that it is impossible to work; the accused who had already admitted his guilt retracts everything in court; the witness changes his testimony. The court rejects the findings of the investigator. One could understand those who were not accustomed to working under circumstances of the strict observance of the law. On the other hand, something else should not be permitted—the criminal's effort to escape responsibility. He lies and refuses to confirm his previous testimony. The judges have no criteria for establishing the truth other than whether the charge been proven or not. Inasmuch as the court follows this principle, many seemingly convincing proofs are being rejected. How do you, Boris Yakovlevich, assess this situation? It is not a simple one?

Every year the investigative machinery of the internal affairs organs investigates hundreds of thousands of criminal cases. This involves approximately 2 million witnesses and approximately half a million plaintiffs. Some of the cases are such that the material traces of the crime are lacking or are clearly insufficient. The indictment is developed essentially on the basis of proof obtained in the course of the interrogation of the plaintiffs and witnesses. Yet they frequently change their testimony in court, as a result of which the investigation has dealt with one aspect of the crime, while the court is presented with another.

Let me clarify this with a specific example. The juveniles Vinogradov, Maksimov and Rumyantsev took a motorcycle parked outside a movie theater and rode it to the city of Chekhov, where they were detained by GAI personnel. The fact of the crime and the identities of the perpetrators were unquestionable. The difficulty arose in establishing the intent (the subjective aspect of the crime). During the investigation the accused admitted to taking the motorcycle in order to take it apart and sell the parts. The investigator did not doubt the accuracy of their testimony. The criminal case of theft was sent to the court. However, in court the defendants started claiming that all they wanted was to take a joy ride and had no intention of stealing the motorcycle. The court threw the charge of theft out.

What is your point? How should the court act: Should it accept unconditionally the version of the investigator? Perhaps the sole reason is that in his mind "it was unquestionable." Yet he should have questioned and "played" that variant as well, which the defendants were presenting to the court. In my view, confidence in the perfect accuracy of one version is an essential shortcoming of many indictments. But why should the accused pay for this? Would you consider that the boys admitted to the theft rather than the hijacking under the pressure of that same investigator, but then told the truth in court?

I grant the point. However, it would be more logical to assume something else: The adolescents found out that the penalty for theft is stricter and changed their testimony. As to the investigator.... If someone would admit to a theft, should he ask him "perhaps you did not steal but merely hijacked it?" Should he do this? Incidentally, the investigator was punished for his "error." But what was the outcome of this case? It led to the immediate dropping of three other criminal cases for similar offenses. The answer to the question of whether or not the investigator was wrong is not all that simple. Essentially he relies on the possibility (and limits) of his investigative activities in gathering evidence relative to the subjective aspect of the crime. How else can it be if the crime is not materialized in specific acts and in their results and traces? Those who remain are the victim, the witness and the accused. Yet they frequently change their statements, particularly in court. In this case I do not refer to an honest mistake ("perception error") on the part of a plaintiff or a witness. I am discussing precisely facts of deliberate obstruction by such individuals of the possibility of establishing the truth.

Forgive me but I must insist. At the "Churbanov trial" a witness testified. After his detention he "exposed" the future defendants and was freed, after which he repudiated his testimony and admitted to slander; he was immediately rearrested, and once again began to "expose." Do you think that the investigator charged him with perjury? Nothing of the kind! He needed that "witness." But in such cases is it not the investigation itself that creates false witnesses?

This does happen. I could cite a number of examples of such "confessions." In the Kirovskiy ROVD in Kirovograd, deputy chief Ryaboshtan and criminal investigator Kizimenko informed in advance the recidivist Gurevich of the circumstances of a crime. Then Lyubovich, senior ROVD investigator, extracted from Gurevich an "admission." This occurred precisely in 1988, the year of the legal reform.

Nonetheless, we keep talking not of investigators but of obstructions in establishing the truth, as erected by witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants. The erection of artificial obstacles to determining the truth on the part of the accused is, to a certain extent, explainable: It is a question of "means" of defending himself. However, the widespread nature of such "games with justice" (an expression coined by A.F. Konn) played by victims and witnesses is a truly alarming phenomenon. However, in this case it is not only the investigators who are to be blamed. Almost 25 percent of all witnesses and one-sixth of victims arbitrarily change their testimony in court. Typical in this sense are rape cases. Today only one out of four cases of rape could be considered "classic," as described in the law. Most of the cases we have studied prove coercion with the absence of physical action, which means lack of material proof of the crime.

Perhaps all of this may have occurred. Someone would use force and someone else threats. It seems to us, however, Boris Yakovlevich, that you would like to simply excuse the difficulties in investigating difficult cases by referring to their "objective" nature. According to your logic, one could reach the following conclusion as well: A scientist, a colonel in the militia, should "put himself in the spirit" of the investigation and should not believe all that strongly the charge.... Forgive me but this conclusion could be reached from your words. You said that after the resolution of the court on the case of the theft of the motorcycle three other cases were thrown out of court. In your view, is the court to be blamed? Were the investigators helpless?

Still, let us keep our feet on the ground. Consider those same cases of rape. In court the victim changes her testimony (she has either been threatened or bribed by the rapist's parents). The investigator then looks foolish. Consider: Am I defending the "honor of the uniform" or nonetheless discussing realities which journalists, who fight for the triumph of the law, frequently ignore?

But you must agree, Boris Yakovlevich, that however disgusting a crime may be, it must be proven. Otherwise we cannot talk of justice. However, problems of perjury, I agree, should not be ignored either by judges, journalists or legislators.

Plaintiffs bear virtually no responsibility for changing their testimony during the investigation and the trial. The "interested individuals" also remain unpunished. Yet the latter frequently resort to open threats, frightening and bribing both victims and witnesses. At least one-third of the cases in this category that we have studied have been solved "behind the back" of the legal authorities. The parents of the "boy" reach an agreement with the mother of the "girl" and make a fool out of justice.

In my view, the judicial system has put itself in that position. Who is preventing the court or the investigator from instigating legal proceedings against false witnesses and instigators? Does the justice system not discredit itself? Do prosecutors in court, who speak for the state, frequently file criminal charges for bearing false witness?

I do not with to defend either judges or prosecutors. However, I must point out the weaknesses in the law. Today instigators and false witnesses remain virtually unpunished. For that reason we must think of how legislatively to protect the legal authorities from the interference of "interested individuals" in their work. Today such individuals know that they are "strong," while the legal authorities are not always adequately armed with the law. The "games with justice" played by both plaintiffs and witnesses and, particularly, groups which have conspired in advance with the "interested individuals" still remain outside the reach of the law. Let me mention the case of the obviously false testimony given by witnesses Benyaminov and Fettakhov on the case of Mukhamedova, department head at the Tashkent Theater and Art Institute, who was sentenced to 8 years in jail on the basis of a false accusation. This was written in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA ("Sting of the Bumble Bee," 12 November 1988). What happened? Neither of them were held criminally liable for scandalous cases of perjury, on the basis of which the wrong sentence was passed. They got away with a party reprimand.

But is there not an article in the criminal code which calls for punishment for giving false testimony?

This law is virtually never applied. There should be stricter criminal liability for arbitrary (false) changes in testimony during the investigation and in court by witnesses and plaintiffs. Furthermore, we also need additional legal steps which would encourage giving of truthful testimony both by the accused (the defendant) as well as by witnesses and plaintiffs.

This, however, is quite controversial. Testimony may be changed not necessarily for malicious purposes. Furthermore, what does "encouraging truthful testimony" mean? We already mentioned the value of so-called "honest admissions," which are so precious to many investigators. Breaking a man down, forcing him to give false testimony, putting him at a table and asking him to write an "honest admission:" There have been so many such cases. They have become particularly frequent after the judges have begun to consider the materials of the preliminary investigation and such "confessions" critically.

Today people are taken more strictly to task for the use of illegal investigative methods. However, this does not solve the problem, for which reason I raise the question of codifying a juridical institution such as "expiation of guilt." At this point let us observe strictly the law rather than the subjective views of an investigator or a judge. In my view, the "expiation of guilt" should encompass pleading guilty in court, honest repentance, active help in exposing the crime, and voluntarily compensating for the caused damage. An honest repentance, naturally, providing that it is not coerced, contributes to the fast exposure of a crime. A selective study conducted in Minsk Oblast has indicated that two-thirds of all cases of bribery became exposed thanks to the honest repentance of the bribe givers. However, in judicial practices such facts are still clearly insufficiently taken into consideration although, I repeat, I agree with you: There also are many cases of false confessions. This means that the legislator, the courts and, naturally, the investigators must seriously undertake the solution of this problem. In the course of the investigation and the trial giving oneself up is, naturally, unacceptable. It must be a question of truly honest repentance. Today in practice everything is put together without determining who is playing at justice and who is repenting.

The Foundations of Criminal Legislation should include a separate article on expiation of guilt by the accused and the defendants. It should stipulate that the existence of the circumstance of expiation of guilt must be mandatorily taken into consideration in the course of the investigation (in making the decision to stop the investigation) as well as in court, in determining the punishment.

At the same time, it would be expedient to substantially simplify the procedural steps and the time for investigation under such circumstances. Naturally, in this case procedural standards must be fully observed. It is thus that the law would encourage the expiation of guilt first of all on the part of individuals who are first offenders and second, by other individuals who although having committed a malicious crime, have decided voluntarily to expiate their guilt.

We must not forget that criminal actions leave not only material traces but also "emotional" traumas in the mind of the criminal, who develops a "feeling of guilt." The feeling of guilt is related to two emotions: on the one hand remorse, which is a premise for an honest admission, and on the other a feeling of fear of being exposed and of the inevitable punishment which follows, and which is the foundation of the self-defense mechanism.

The adoption of a rule on the expiation of guilt would stimulate the investigative-judicial practice and the science of criminology in developing an understanding of the mechanisms which oppose the determination of the truth by individuals who have committed a crime, and the search of contemporary methods for exposing crime on the basis of material and mental (as remembered) traces of a crime.

A serious restructuring is also needed of the institution of the struggle against bearing false witness. We must simplify the procedure for instigating such proceedings (in one year in Belorussia no more than seven criminal proceedings against false witnesses have been instigated). This obligation should be entrusted to the court which has acknowledged the testimony of a witness as being false. The court should be allowed to take administrative measures, such as fining false witnesses, unless there are grounds for taking steps of a criminal nature.

In my view, it has also become socially necessary to ensure the protection of the honor and dignity of the victim and the witness. In this case as well, there should be measures for administrative punishment by the court, to be imposed immediately, as well as measures of criminal liability. Every citizen, in fulfilling his duty during the investigation and in court, must be reliably protected from insults, threats, blackmail and bribery.

You and I have not agreed on everything. I believe, however, that the problems of bearing false witness, honest repentance, and expiation of guilt are worthy of attention in judicial practices and theory and in legislative action.

British Lawyers Investigate War Crimes in Ukraine

AU1002115189 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 2 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Criminals Should Be Punished"]

[Text] **A group of British experts investigating war crimes completed its visit to Lutsk. The group arrived in our country according to a cooperation plan between Soviet and British lawyers.**

For a week the British experts have listened to and filmed evidence given by witnesses to all the crimes committed on the territory of Volyn and Vinnitsa Oblasts during World War II. They also visited the burial places of the victims of the crimes of the war criminals and their helpers. Volyn Oblast Procurator's Office gave the experts documents about these crimes. There were a great many of these crimes on the territory of Volyn Oblast during World War II. People will never forget the tragedy of Kortelisy village, the mass executions by shooting of Soviet citizens in Vladimir Volynskiy, Gorokhovskiy, Manevichskiy, and other rayons. Personally involved in all these crimes were: Serhiy Kovalchuk, Yosyf Artyshchuk, Serhiy Kyslyuk, Mykhaylo Shevchuk, Mefodiy Lanovyy, Andriy Pestrak, Ivan Tsyuryts, and other gangsters who have found refuge in the United States of America, Canada, and also many in Great Britain. The inhabitants of Volyn have repeatedly asked the parliaments and governments of these countries to extradite these war criminals to Soviet justice, but in vain.

"What I have heard was overpowering," Sir Thomas Heterington, former English public prosecutor, who headed the group of British lawyers, said at a press conference at the Volyn Oblast Procurator's Office. "There were eye witnesses who themselves saw the crimes perpetrated on the territory of the Ukraine in 1941-42. All that, along with other materials, will be included in a report which we hope to submit to our government early this summer. And on the basis of this report, the authorities will resolve the question of amending British legislation on conceivable legal action against such people. In my opinion, those who committed war crimes—mass killings, the acts of genocide, and other crimes—must not be pardoned, irrespective of the time that has passed since World War II."

Sir Thomas Heterington emphasized once again that the group's main objective was to provide the Government of Great Britain with documents showing evidence of the crimes, and on their basis demand legislative amendments, as has been done, for example, in Austria and Canada. The point is that, in conformity with the rules valid in that country, no criminal lawsuit must be brought against persons who were not British subjects at the time of the crime.

"We are very satisfied with the reception and with the conditions offered us by staff members of Volyn Oblast Procurator's Office," the leader of the group of British experts said at the end. "The work which we have done is very necessary and useful. The level of cooperation reached by British and Soviet lawyers suited us completely."

The public of Lutsk and the oblast received the news about the British lawyers' investigation with satisfaction.

Suspects in Slaying of Two Gorkiy Police Detained

PM1002112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Feb 89 First Edition p 6

[A. Timokhin report under the "Incidents" rubric: "Bandits Detained"]

[Text] Shots rang out 3 February at approximately 2100 hours in the city of Gorkiy on Turgenev Street, which is in Nizhegorodskiy Rayon. Unknown criminals killed internal affairs administration militia patrolmen Warrant Officer A. Gerasyuk and Private A. Kornilov, who were on duty. Seizing Makarov's pistol and eight cartridges, the criminals vanished.

The search for the killers was led by Militia Colonel L. Vtyurin, deputy chief of the internal affairs administration, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Glukhov, chief of the criminal investigation administration. A group of experienced USSR MVD staffers was dispatched to Gorkiy. They include Internal Service Colonel B. Demov, deputy chief of the Main Criminal Investigation Administration, Militia Lieutenant Colonel N. Borovskiy, chief of a Main Criminal Investigation Administration department section, and Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Osipov, deputy chief of a Main Criminal Investigation Administration department section. They immediately joined in the work to clear up this crime. Thanks to precise professional actions on the part of the USSR MVD and Gorkiy Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration staffers, V. Pyuro and N. Moiseyev, both unemployed, and O. Mikhaylov, a fitter at the power supply administration, have been detained on suspicion of the killing as a result of the inquirires and investigations carried out. Three sawed-off shotguns, a pistol, and ammunition have been confiscated from the criminals. The investigation is continuing.

Future of Volga River, Canal Projects Reviewed

LD1102220889

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 11 February in the "Vremya" newscast carries a video report presented by Commentator Aleksandr Krutov on public opposition to the Volga-Chogray canal project, including a video of speakers at a demonstration against the project.

Krutov says: "As you know, a state commission of experts has deemed the Volga-Chogray canal project inexpedient and has said that work must be stopped. But 50 million rubles have already been spent, not on housing, health, culture, or education, but on digging earth. These are the conclusions of the state commission of experts: The canal was being built without a scientific basis, it was leading to an ecological catastrophe in the Caspian; it was sharply intensifying the strained ecological situation on the lower Volga.

"For 5 years well-known scientists and the country's public argued against the unscientific nature of the Volga-Chogray canal project. But the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the State Agro-Industrial Committee calmly carried on with the construction work. Today the Volga-Chogray canal project has been rejected, but, you know, this is no reason to rejoice. You see, the project hasn't been completely rejected. It has been sent back for revision, and to whom, what do you think? That same Ministry of Land Reclamation! And so, people went out on to the streets today and gathered at meetings."

The video then shows a demonstration in Gorkiy Park, Moscow. Academician A.L. Yanshin addresses those gathered and calls for an end to the financing of the project. He is followed by M.F. Antonov, representative of the "Public Salvation of the Volga" committee, who says: "Judge for yourselves what will happen if the Volga-Don-2, the Volga-Chogray, and many other canals not mentioned here, which are now being dug on the lower reaches of the Volga, go into operation. This means that the Volga will, on its lower reaches, soon be turned into a dried-up stream, and then the government will have no choice but to say what Nikita Sergeyevich did in his day—well, it happens that the best of us mess things up, we've miscalculated a bit, and now the transfer of northern waters will become necessary, because the Volga has to be saved!" The video also shows writer A.A. Kuznetsov addressing the demonstration, calling for a public examination of the issue.

Krutov cites the view of an engineer, published in the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, that the decision of the state commission of experts has no force in law and that the work can only be stopped by the State Agro-Industrial Committee. Krutov concludes: "So who's right? The Ministry of Land Reclamation and the State Agro-Industrial Committee, or major scientists, writers, and the public? We think that the final word will be given by the USSR Council of Ministers. At issue is the great Russian river, the Volga."

View of Penal Code Relating to 'Samizdat' Works

PM1302143789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by our special correspondent A. Malysheva under the rubric "Social Portrait of a Phenomenon": "Samizdat"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Initial print run—four copies. How many outstanding Russian writers' works suffered this fate? Platonov, Pasternak, Akhmatova, Bulgakov... One could go on. The list would be enormous.

An "Erika" [East German typewriter] does four copies.

"That is all, and that is enough," the poet Aleksandr Galich, whose unpublished poetry was widely available "in copies" and whose songs circulated in the form of tape recordings, wrote in the early seventies. [passage omitted]

Some 25-30 years ago (not to mention times 40-50 years past) four copies on a typewriter—another four from each and so on—was an entire publishing process. How many typewriters are there in the country? And who decided what kind of edition the unpublished book would come out in?

But look more closely at the names. Behind them lies an era that is in no way conducive to freedom of thought and original ideas. Because, whatever the era, free thinking, civic consciousness, and incorruptible talent remain deep within society.

It is not only article 190 (1) [article banning works that "discredit the state and social system..."] that links "Woe From Wit" and, for example, "By Right of Memory," Pushkin's "The Village," and, for instance, Platonov's "Chevengur."

The thread that links these works through the ages is far stronger. There is a continuity here, a dual continuity, what is more. Continuity not only of the Russian intelligentsia, which has always had an innate acute moral sense, an ability to think independently, and a responsibility for the people's destiny; but also a continuity of nonacceptance of heterodoxy.

And it was this explosive mixture of "inconvenient" verse and those banning it that gave rise to "samizdat."

To be fair, not all "samizdat" works are masterpieces. There have been weak and profascist and downright bad books. But they were more the exception that proves the rule. The worth of a book was a kind of guarantee of its quality—a bad book might be read and discussed, but it was unusual to spend nights copying it and then risk keeping it at home.

It is hard to imagine, for example, someone who has only samizdat books in his home library or only reads such books. Someone who has not read A.F. Abramov, V. Tendryakov, and N. Dumbadze simply because their books have been published.

"Not one of us," "enemies," "ideological sabotage"—each of the numerous labels attached to heterodox writers hinted very clearly at the alientation of these people from society, from "all of us." Is that not why forcible exile of cultural figures abroad became so popular: It was easier to portray a voice "from over there" as hostile...

"We lost a whole stratum of our culture," Daniil Granin wrote. "We can remember the inconvenient, the intractable, the refractory being driven out of the country..."

You can deprive people of their homeland, and you can deprive them of their freedom.

Times, ways, views change, the faces of the enemy and the hero change... . But the penal articles of the Criminal Code remain. And since the articles exist, do the crimes exist too?

Article 58 (10) (now repealed), which made a bad name for itself in the repression years, was formal grounds in the thirties and forties for dispatching hundreds of thousands of people to camps. Times, thank goodness, have changed radically for the better, but the wording of the "successor" article—70—has changed for the worse. According to article 58 (10) of "that" code, a person could be held criminally liable for agitation and propaganda "containing a call to overthrow, undermine, or weaken Soviet power." Article 70 is not satisfied with calls, but with the mere intention to undermine power, that is, a highly ephemeral, vague, and subjective concept: "agitation and propaganda carried out for subversive purposes..."

One might object, saying: leave it be, the wording, since the particular article has not really been used in recent years. But my reply would be: So why do we need it? After all, the Criminal Code is not a lady's album—there is nothing FRIVOLOUS in it.

As long as article 70 is no more than a gun hanging idly on the wall, but....

I risk bringing down on me the wrath of those who have given their all to the fight against heterodoxy, against unsanctioned criticism of our life, but... "samizdat" is of their making. It is what people were forced to resort to in conditions of unwarranted bans by the censor and editorial restructions.

They did not "manufacture," they did not "disseminate," of course; on the contrary, they strove might and main to destroy the spontaneous editions, and there was no winner in this struggle.

But victims there were....

In 1985 the "black book gang"—so called by an ULYANOVSKAYA PRAVDA journalist—was exposed in Ulyanovsk. They were showing an "unhealthy interest" in "garbage that distorts Soviet history... in individuals who were cast onto the garbage heap of history long ago."

Our own correspondent in Ulyanovsk, Igor Virabov, obtained the details of this recent incident.... Apparently, a worker, a cook, an engineer, a colonel, and even a Komsomol obkom worker had been engaged in "subversive activity." Igor Romanov, deputy chairman of the

"Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau, had a book by Stalin's daughter—S. Alliluyeva. How this became known is not known. But Igor handed the book over to the authorities when tactfully requested to do so. Let us emphasize that no steps were taken against him. But Igor's bosses reacted.... After a while there came an urgent recommendation that Romanov resign, in order "not to compromise the obkom apparatus." The "unreliable" crew also included a whole group of people who were little known to him or were total strangers: All those who had acquired and read samizdat "Diaries." Before removing Romanov from the party register the Komsomol obkom called an emergency party meeting of the apparatus.

Excerpt from record No 5 of 12 February:

Chairman: the primary party organization has received information about a display of political naivety by Comrade I.G. Romanov....

Question to I. Romanov: How were you able to obtain literature that is not published here, in the Soviet Union, because it is ideological damaging?

From the speeches: Strictly speaking he has betrayed the motherland! While the party struggles against alien ideology, he brings it into his home. In fact, he should be expelled from the party.

At the party raykom Igor made the acquaintance of some of his "accomplices." They compared notes. Romanov received a reprimand plus endorsement. Eduard Grigoryevich Fomin, officer, was expelled and demoted. Ilyushiun, the cook, was expelled, and then reinstated with a severe reprimand....

Our society, as is known, is only now learning democracy, and unless this is being done in order to "learn and then forget," then, obviously, the Criminal Code will have to be amended and some of its articles sacrificed in the name of future democracy. Especially as in the past 6 months I cannot really recall any instances of literary "samizdat." Times have changed.

Since we are having a go at two entire articles of the Criminal Code, one of which relates to "particularly dangerous state crimes," we have to have on the subject the view of those who, on the one hand, are the guardians of citizens' interests and, on the other hand, are authorized representatives of the law.

Here is the view of Vladimir Leonidovich Golubev, Moscow assistant prosecutor:

"Of course, article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and the corresponding articles of the union republics' criminal codes require major editorial amendments and changes in the formal definitions of crimes. The wording of the article must be very specific, revealing the significance and nature of the crime. Such criminal law norms are necessary and they must perform the function of protecting the interests of the state against criminal encroachments connected with any kind of call for a forcible change in the constitutional setup and political system. But this punishment must not apply to citizens' artistic work and personal views! It is absolutely self-evident that every citizen has every right to express his disagreement with state policy, as long as he does not carry out specific actions aimed at undermining it, and the state has no right to take any steps of a criminal law nature against him. Juridical practice of past years shows, when cases in this category are being examined, the wording of article 70 as it stands at the moment has contributed in some cases to an incorrect assessment of the actions of individuals who have been called to account.

So, people might ask, anything goes?

By no means. Our constitution and laws stipulate punishment for propagandizing war, for fueling ethnic strife, and for pornography! And in our discussion of the principles of new criminal legislation we must bring them into line with the Constitution.

But the producers of samizdat now have far more urgent problemns than Criminal Code articles which have a low profile at the moment.

In a period when samizdat periodicals have become more active, under the stern and disapproving gaze of the bosses, when the Moscow University weekly DEMOKRATICHESKIY UNIVERSITET, the interschool paper BARRIKADA, the Tambov journalists' press bulletin SODEYSTVIYE, and many other amateur journals and papers have been published, the vast majority of which, incidentally, are pursuing the aim of promoting restructuring and the democratization of society, a USSR Council of Ministers resolution comes out, restricting cooperative publishing activity, among other things.

But they are publishing. The journal KOMMUNIST too, in the edition that is an anthology of the best political articles of the year, prints materials from the interschool samizdat paper....

Yes, we have gotten used to doing nearly everything ourselves. There is a shortage of good-quality vegetables, so people resort to subsidiary plots. There is no fine, beautiful clothing, so everyone sews, knits, and spins. There is a lack of authentic information and variety of opinion in books and newspapers, so other books and other papers appear, homemade again.

When we have plenty of everything, when the book-publishing process is geared to readers' interests and needs, when our press starts responding more swiftly and becomes more consistent than the amateur, people's press, there will be no need for "samizdat.."

And despite my deep respect for "samizdat," I would not want to live to see its next renaissance. Because it would mean.... But let us not be morbid.

Some Dachas Converted to Children's Homes

[From the "Vremya" newscast]
LD1302204488

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 13 February, in the "Vremya" newscast, carries a report from the 21st children's home of Tashkent. The reporter, I. Adbukhalikov, explains that this children's home once belonged to the family of a leader of the republic and was officially called a "state dacha," and says that it was maintained at the state's annual expense of approximately 100,000 rubles. Abdukhalikov speaks to a local journalist, A. Usmanov, who recalls the time when long motorcades led to the dacha and when Nikita Khruschev and Leonid Brezhnev used it for recreation and banquets.

The video shows the children's home including the swimming pool, colonnades, and the surroundings which comprise an estate of 16 hectares.

Usmanov, who is a correspondent for UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, continues that only a few such dachas have been turned into children's homes, although currently 30 children's homes in Uzbekistan are housed in adapted premises. Usmanov notes that in Surkhan-Darya Oblast the former dacha of the first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee is not being converted into a home for children, despite requests from the republic's children's fund.

He says further that near Tashkent a magnificent leisure zone is being built, including a state dacha for members of the council of ministers and the supreme soviet. He says its cost is already several million rubles.

Usmanov stresses that he hopes the new union of pupils and staff of children's homes will make its influence felt concerning social justice for children in need.

Economic

TRUD Editor on Impact of Economic Changes

AU1002195689 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 10 Feb 89 p 34

[Interview with Vitaliy Golovachev, editor in chief of the Soviet daily TRUD's business section, by Karl Riffert in Moscow: "We Are Euphoric"; date not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: The trade union daily TRUD is regarded as being rather conservative in the West. How would you categorize it?

Golovachev: We try to perform a protective role for the ordinary man. For example, TRUD was the first newspaper in the USSR to write about the inflation of the ruble. Even "Voice of America" quoted us on that.

WOCHENPRESSE: In what way has glasnost changed a journalist's work in the USSR?

Golovachev: It used to be very difficult to get hold of information because the authorities were very reluctant. The new openness has caused a storm of enthusiasm among journalists.

WOCHENPRESSE: How is the press being controlled now? Is there any intervention?

Golovachev: There was intervention before and there is intervention today. Some ministries feel offended and try to make us publish rejoinders. However, control is virtually nonexistent today. Recently, we even criticized our editors, the trade unions.

WOCHENPRESSE: In what sphere did you criticize the trade unions?

Golovachev: We criticized their social policy. We all know about the severe problems in this field.

WOCHENPRESSE: Inflation in the USSR is currently at just under 5 percent. This is quite a lot for a system with a planned economy.

Golovachev: The rate of inflation would not be particularly alarming by international standards were it not for the glaring disproportion between the supply of money and goods. According to official figures, some R70 billion is not sufficiently covered by goods. Besides, today the ruble is at only 42 percent of its 1960 value.

WOCHENPRESSE: Is the insufficient supply of goods not a result of the fact that enterprises continue to be controlled by giant ministerial bureaucracies?

Golovachev: We are in a difficult transition phase. The old plan has not been completely reversed. In the old days, the ministries could implement their plans with instructions; now they try it with caution and persuasion.

WOCHENPRESSE: That is exactly it. The central planning bureaucracies prove to be responsible for inhibiting the process....

Golovachev: There are debates of principles as to whether we need any ministries at all. For instance, there have been concrete proposals for abolishing the Ministry for Light Industry. The Ukrainian Ministry for Ferrous Metallurgy was dissolved, and several federal ministries were merged in Moscow. There are even enterprises that are completely independent of a ministry. The first Soviet concern has just been established in Leningrad; it is now completely independent of the ministry.

WOCHENPRESSE: Have public servants been laid off and sent into the production sector, for example? Will unemployment continue to be treated as a taboo subject?

Golovachev: A total of 35,495 public servants have been laid off in several ministries and administrative authorities in Moscow. Most of them now work in the administration of the enterprises of which they used to be in charge. Unemployment was abolished in 1930. This is a great social feat, which we do not want to miss. However, some 15 million people are predicted to lose their current jobs until the year 2000; a total of 600,000 jobs has had to go since the beginning of rationalization and reform.

WOCHENPRESSE: For the first time Soviet banks have published a list of 300 insolvent enterprises. Has it become possible for enterprises to actually go bankrupt?

Golovachev: These 300 enterprises have been conceded a last respite, although in Western Ukraine a bed-spring enterprise was shut down. However, we do not want people to get sacked or put in some place. There should be a certain type of stopgap relief which people can choose from.

WOCHENPRESSE: Such as unemployment benefits in the West?

Golovachev: We used to view things too simply: Capitalism is exploitation; in socialism man is most important. Social security is certainly at a lower level in the United States compared to here, however one has to differentiate. To a certain extent, we regard Sweden as a model.

WOCHENPRESSE: Can you imagine that trade unions in the USSR will resort to strikes in order to achieve their objectives?

Golovachev: The chairman of our trade union, Shalayev, says that our laws do not explicitly ban strikes. The stance of the trade union is to consider strikes as a last resort.

WOCHENPRESSE: However, people have already turned to this last resort.

Golovachev: Yes, there have been certain cases of wildcat strikes. Recently, workers in an engine works in Yaroslavl almost downed tools, and bus drivers in Lvov really went on strike. Maybe this is an expression of the mentality of Russians. Now that we are somewhat euphoric about freedom, we might go from one extreme to another.

Nikolay Shemelev Cites Cures for 'Sick' Economy

PM1402095689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with economist Nikolay Shmelev by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Passage omitted] [Mauro] Professor Shmelev, why is the economic crisis suddenly exploding, overturning the traditional optimism of Soviet state planning?

[Shmelev] It is the figures, not the sickness, that are exploding now. Our economy has been sick for some time. But the means and opportunities for healing it do exist. It would be criminal not to exploit them—and it is precisely over this issue that the political struggle is being waged.

[Mauro] Where do you perceive the greatest dangers?

[Shmelev] In the deterioration of the consumer market and in the state budget deficit. Together, the two deficits are a recipe for inflation—Red, Soviet-style, but inflation nevertheless. What else would you call a shortage of goods on the official market and sharp price hikes on the black market?

[Mauro] But there is no official estimate of inflation. What do you reckon it to be?

[Shmelev] Between 7 and 8 percent—even 8.5 percent.

[Mauro] So are nostalgic consumers right when they say that restructuring has left stores even emptier than Brehznevian stagnation did?

[Shmelev] They are right and wrong at the same time. Things have deteriorated on the consumer market—but not because the output of goods has diminished during the restructuring years. There are not fewer shoes than before: It is not true. In fact more of everything is being produced—only a little more, perhaps, but more nevertheless. It is just that money is also being printed at a much faster rate. People find themselves in the middle of this pincer and are suffering both psychologically and in terms of their morale. This is why the shortages problem is so important to restructuring.

[Mauro] Do you mean that the time has come when what Yevtushenko calls "material restructuring" threatens to influence political restructuring?

[Shmelev] What I say is that restructuring enjoys great support. However, nobody can say how long this will last. I am not talking about intellectuals, for whom the current unprecedented freedom—glasnost—is enough. But what about the man on the street? I have said that it is necessary to remain patient for another year, perhaps two, but there is a limit beyond which there is a risk of a decline of confidence in restructuring. There is only one way to avert the apathy, indifference, and dissatisfaction of the ordinary people: to improve the internal market.

[Mauro] Is this the quest for prosperity that Gorbachev has indicated as restructuring's new objective?

[Shmelev] More simply, it is the quest for the way to bring more goods into the USSR's stores, which is where people assess their living standards.

[Mauro] Would this be enough to breathe new life into restructuring?

[Shmelev] I have seen a study according to which if each Soviet citizen could spend his money to buy whatever he wanted, his living standard would improve by 50 percent by this alone. Do you see what I mean? Without any pay increases, but simply by meeting consumers' demands with a supply, we can change our people's living standards.

[Mauro] The only official measurement of this "quality" is embodied in two statistics, which cite an average Soviet salary of R217 and bank deposits totaling R297.5 billion. How would you translate these figures if you were to assess a USSR citizen's purchasing power?

[Shmelev] I know that our living standard is among the lowest in Europe. How many countries are behind us? Let us say two—and perhaps we are still erring on the generous side.

[Mauro] So full shelves in Gastronom and GUM can save restructuring. But can the Soviet economy fill them?

[Shmelev] To be honest, not now. It is unrealistic to expect that our economic machinery can quickly lead to a full and supplied market. It is unrealistic with regard to both quantity and quality of goods. Without competition, goods do not improve, and it will take time to see real competition in the USSR.

[Mauro] And so?

[Shmelev] So I see three paths for restoring life to the Soviet consumer market. Absolute freedom in agriculture: extending leasing and allowing sovkhozes and kolkhozes the full opportunity to produce and purchase whatever they want, without any more state orders—by making money work. Next, the development of the cooperatives in the cities so they can lease stores, factories, and workshops without the present problems whereby they cannot buy anything without bribery and state corruption, and in any case have to pay 4-5 times as much for everything as public enterprises. Last, the most efficient and direct path: a large increase in imports of Western consumer goods.

[Mauro] But has Gorbachev not already said that he disagrees?

[Shmelev] Indeed. I disagree with him, however, if I may say so. I know it is an awkward solution because of our currency difficulties. However, with imagination, a way can be found. For instance, we can cut purchases of grain or heavy industrial plants from abroad: We can wait; it is not the end of the world. If necessary, we can even secure loans. It must be clearly understood that I am talking in terms of an emergency period of 3-5 years. It is an extraordinary situation demanding extraordinary measures.

[Mauro] The emergency situation affecting the state deficit threatens to become extraordinary, too, with official figures of R36 billion and rumors of a R100 billion shortfall. What is the truth?

[Shmelev] The deficit is R100 billion: There is no doubt about this. The R36 billion concerns the state mechanism that prints the money, but there is at least R64 billion loaned by people to the state, which the state takes from the banks and includes in its budget.

[Mauro] Is the stagnation of the Brezhnev years entirely to blame for this abyss?

[Shmelev] No, the causes of the deficit include the present options. The anti-alcohol reform drastically reduced revenue and boosted work in the black economy, from which the state receives neither money nor taxes. The reduction in imports of consumer goods has withdrawn a major source of profits from the state, which earns 800 percent by selling in the USSR that which it buys from abroad. The support for agriculture is vast, but indiscriminate and therefore counterproductive, because if the state pays successful enterprises R1 for every kilo produced, it ends up paying R2 to ailing enterprises. The result is that 80 percent of the agricultural goods on the market are produced by 30 percent of the enterprises, while the remaining 70 percent produce only 20 percent. Last, there are the prestige projects (such as the Baykal-Amur Railroad) that swallow up huge amounts of money but whose usefulness is unclear. We cannot stop them, however, and the state budget pays for them.

[Mauro] Can restructuring's deficits be brought back under control?

[Shmelev] Theoretically, yes, it is possible. However, a possibility does not mean a reality. The current struggle will decide everything.

[Mauro] Are you talking about the struggle between conservatives and reformists or about something else as well?

[Shmelev] Do you know what we say in our country? "Libo knut, libo pryanik": the stick or the carrot. We have not yet decided between the strongman and the free market.

Turkmen Carpet Makers' Problems Addressed

LD1302121688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1056 GMT 13 Feb 89

[All words for carpet makers/workers denote that they are female]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 13 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Ivakhnenko reports:

A number of problems connected with the work of carpet makers have been solved at an emergency meeting of the State Planning Committee of Soviet Turkmenia.

The world-famous hand-made Turkmen carpets, exported to 50 countries, bring the republic a sizable profit. Making carpets is one of the largest women's professions in Turkmenia. However, until recently, the pay and conditions of their work left much to be desired. Raising state prices on carpet wool was the last straw. For the "Turkmenkover" firm that went over to full financial autonomy the situation that came about led to a reduction in workers' salaries. In defense of their interests, the craftswomen decided on the ultimate measure: They did not show up for work.

Delegates from the labor collective's council, the body of workers self-government born of the restructuring under way in the USSR, invited the leader of the sector, the local industry minister, to the enterprise. He gave a firm promise that he would secure the revocation of the resolution to raise prices. And he kept his word—3 days later it was annulled.

Having revoked the resolution to raise prices, the republic's planning committee at the same time adopted measures to improve the carpet makers' working and living conditions. Their salaries have been increased by 15 percent.

The next day, the carpet makers went to work and decided to make up the losses from the standstill.

Agricultural

CPSU Farm Policy Session Chaired by Ligachev

PM1302153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session of CPSU Central Committee Commission on Agrarian Policy Questions"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Agrarian Policy Questions took place chaired by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The commission discussed draft CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions for the upcoming Central Committee plenum—on a program for the social development of the countryside; on the radical restructuring of economic relations and management in the country's agro-industrial complex; and on accelerating scientific and technical progress and improving the training of agro-industrial complex cadres. The drafts of these documents were prepared by the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department taking into consideration proposals from party, soviet, and economic organs; scientific establishments; leaders and specialists from kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in the agro-industrial complex; and numerous wishes expressed by working people at the local level.

The following spoke during the discussion of the questions: I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom; V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; F.V. Popov, first secretary of Altay CPSU Kraykom; Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of Orel CPSU Obkom; B.M. Volodin, first secretary of Rostov CPSU Obkom; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of Belgorod CPSU Obkom; I.G. Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; A.V. Aleksankiy, chairman of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone State Agro-Industrial Committee; M.B. Ryzhikov, secretary of the AUCCTU and chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Agro-Industrial Complex Workers; V.V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers; P.A. Paskar, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan; M.I. Klepikov, leader of a multipurpose team at Krasnodar Kray's "Kuban" Kolkhoz; N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of Kalinin CPSU Obkom; N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; and Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

In the course of the exchange of opinions, the commission members voiced comments and proposals. Problems with the social development of the countryside were examined in a particularly sharp way and with great alarm. The members of the commission noted the priority significance of this avenue of contemporary agrarian policy. There must be an increase in capital investments and material resources to provide rural inhabitants with social amenities. Moreover, the session stressed, this must be done over the next few years, without being postponed until some future date.

In the opinion of the members of the commission, that is the only way to stop the continual flood of people away from the countryside and form stable collectives in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and food industry enterprises. Increasing the level of amenities for rural labor and life will reinforce the ever increasing force of attraction drawing the inhabitants of cities and working settlements to the countryside.

The commission supported proposals to further develop production relations and management within the agro-industrial complex. Namely the creation of the most favorable organizational, economic, and legal conditions ensuring genuine economic independence for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises and enhancing their initiative, enterprise, and responsibility for increasing food production. It was pointed out in the speeches that intrafarm accountability [vnutrikhozyaystvennyy raschet] and various forms of contract and the lease must be mastered in order to make fuller use of kolkhoz and sovkhoz potentials. However, administration by decree and pressure should not supplant explanation and examples drawn from real life in this new cause.

Questions relating to planning, the shaping of state orders for agricultural output, union and republic food resource stocks, and also price formation, and improving the financial state of agro-industrial complex enterprises were discussed.

While examining the tasks of improving management within the agro-industrial complex, the members of the commission concentrated their main attention on further democratizing it and clearly delineating managerial functions between organs at various levels.

Reports were heard from Yu.A. Manayenkov, first secretary of Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, and Yu.I. Litvintsev, first secretary of Tula CPSU Obkom, on the work being done to improve management of the agro-industrial complex at rayon and oblast level. A management system based on principles of democracy and cooperation has been set up in these oblasts.

While discussing the question of speeding up scientific and technical progress, the members of the commission pointed out with particular concern that up to 70 percent of agricultural work is still being carried out manually. That is why the social and economic measures that have been mapped out must be really backed up by modern technologies and the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex considerably reinforced, and the countryside supplied with contemporary highly productive and reliable equipment.

It was deemed advisable to thoroughly restructure the training of workers and specialists for agriculture and the food industry. These should be cadres with a broad range of skills.

The preparation of documents for the Central Committee plenum is continuing.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the commission's work.

Further on Ligachev Address at Kharkov Seminar

PM1002142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "City-Country: Reciprocal Relations in New Conditions"]

[Text] An all-union conference-seminar held in Kharkov 6-8 February which examined the tasks of cities' party and soviet organs in the solution of the food problem has ended.

Taking part in its work were Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, and A.V. Vlasov.

On 7 February the participants in the conference-seminar traveled to Belgorod Oblast. A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of Belgorod CPSU Obkom, described the oblast party organization's role in the provision of help to the countryside by industrial enterprises and the work of improving the population's food supply, the establishment of citizens' private subsidiary plots and subsidiary plots belonging to enterprises, organizations, and institutions. The integration of industrial and agricultural production is expanding constantly. And this is yielding good results: The stores have a good range of products with which people are very satisfied and for which they express their thanks.

Cooperation between the city and the country exists on many levels. There is the development and strengthening of the material and technical base of stockraising, the improvement of feed production and preparation, and participation in the modernization and retooling of the processing industry and the social reorganization of the countryside, and much else.

A considerable place in increasing meat resources, the speaker noted, is played by specialist pork-producing farms. Here, too, it has not been possible to do without assistance from city dwellers. On each of these farms areas for summer use have been built designed to accommodate 5,000 pigs at any one time and space for 100,000 animals in all has been provided.

Stock raising's feed demands are substantially supplemented by secondary raw materials from processing industry enterprises and food scraps. The oblast now has 68 enterprises processing secondary raw materials for feed. More than R70 million has been invested in their construction. Collectives of many industrial enterprises and construction organizations from the oblast center, Staryy Oskol, Gubkin, and other cities participated actively in creating those enterprises.

Thanks to the introduction of waste-free technology at processing enterprises, stockraising now receives around 100,000 tonnes of feed units and 15,000 tonnes of protein a year. The sale of the additional output produced using feed based on secondary raw materials provides kolkhozes and sovkhozes with around R19 million net profit a year.

The party obkom links the improvement of the population's food supply to a large extent with the further development and retooling of processing industry enterprises. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan almost R186 million has been invested in this.

Party organizations pay great attention to improving rural workers' working, living, and leisure conditions. It is understandable that the development of the social sphere requires a strengthening of the material and technical base of construction. Industrial enterprises' labor collectives are taking part in modernizing the construction industry base and creating specialized construction equipment. The production of truck cranes, mobile concrete mixers, and cement carriers has been assimilated. The production of autoclaves and other equipment for plants manufacturing silica brick has begun.

The purposeful work of party and soviet organs is yielding tangible results. The population's supply of basic products in the oblast is improving.

Then the conference participants visited farms and industrial enterprises where they familiarized themselves with the experience of Belgorod people in the integration of industrial and agricultural production and the solution of food tasks on this basis.

An exhibition of machinery and equipment produced for the agro-industrial complex showed just how fruitful and multifaceted cooperation can be. The 80 models on display included equipment for crop and stockraising needs, custom built [nestandartnoye] equipment for the processing sectors, and various domestic appliances. It is noteworthy that many of the models are made by production sharing using the plans of local design and technological bureaus.

There was much of interest to see at the "Avtoremgormash" Plant, one of whose shops specializes in the production of equipment, mechanisms, and construction materials ordered by the agro-industrial complex.

In the system of measures ensuring the efficient development of stockraising, the oblast attaches priority to the accelerated development of feed production and processing. Here, too, the city helps out. The conference participants visited "Severnoye," an interfarm enterprise producing protein and dehydrated feed. Built on the outskirts of Belgorod by the city's industrial enterprises and construction organizations, the plant is intended for the processing of grasses. Each year it produces at least 10,000 tonnes of feed in this way.

The experience of the food scraps processing shop built in Belgorod is highly instructive. The shop produces around 18,000 tonnes of paste a year from food scraps collected from the population by the municipal services. The "Belgorodets" suburban farm, for example, feeds 5,000 pigs a year in this way. That means 650 tonnes of extra pork supplied to public catering enterprises.

The course of in-depth specialization and concentration of agricultural production on Belgorod farms with the active assistance of industrial enterprises is yielding a considerable return which could be seen when visiting the Dzerzhinskiy Kolkhoz's cattle fattening complex in Yakovlevskiy Rayon. Thanks to the high technical equipment of production and the organization of stockraisers' labor on the basis of the lease contract the farm has been able to quickly reach the design capacity of the complex, which now produces 3,000 of meat a year with average weight gains of over 800 grams a day.

Live fish reared in the ponds of the "Belgorodrybkhoz" state-cooperative association occupy a significant place in the food balance of Belgorod people. Seven new fish farms have been created in the oblast, 923 hectares of fish- fattening ponds have been equipped, and a zonal fish hatchery has been commissioned with an annual capacity of 16 million fry. There is a processing enterprise for curing. There is a specialized plant for the production of granulated fish feed.

A new departure in the association's work was the organization of all-year trading in live fish in Belgorod and other industrial centers. A storage facility with a capacity for 1,800 fish has been created in the oblast center. It is equipped with special vehicles for delivering the fish to the base and to the trade network.

The conference participants also visited many food stores belonging to the Belgorod agro-industrial complex and state and cooperative trade.

At the plenary session in Kharkov the following gave their opinions on the problems under discussion: V.P. Solovyev, first secretary of Chelyabinsk party gorkom, Z. Nurkadilov, chairman of Alma-Ata Gorispolkom, A.S. Barsegyan, chief director of the Kharkov Academic Russian Drama Theater named for A.S. Pushkin, and N.A. Fedorchuk, chairman of Vitebsk Gorispolkom.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the end of the conference-seminar. He recalled once more that it is primarily by the state of the food stores that our people judge the activity of both central and local party and state organs. And to a large extent working people link the entire course of restructuring, its results and success, with the solution of the food question.

The implementation of measures planned in recent years is producing positive results. But matters are moving slowly, the pace is low. It is becoming perfectly clear that the present measures are not enough. That is why it has been decided to examine the problems of the agrarian sector of the economy at a CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The food question is acquiring a truly nationwide character and is becoming the most urgent and extraordinary sociopolitical task. Therefore it is very important, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, to involve the production and intellectual potential of our entire economy, including cities and industrial centers, in resolving it. The examples of Kharkov and Belgorod show that this approach is expedient. It can be seen here how the party's demand to make the Food Program a nationwide cause is being given specific content, is being implemented and, of particular importance, is yielding positive results. Much can be achieved if work is done with initiative, enterprise, and a sense of great responsibility to one's people. It is confirmed once again here what a tremendous political and creative force the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentia represents. The mood in the city's collectives is favorable to the countryside.

Now, however, when agriculture and the entire agro-industrial complex is faced with qualitatively new tasks, the speaker stressed, life demands fundamentally new approaches to the organization of links between the city and the countryside and the working class and the peasantry.

The essence of these approaches is to involve on a larger scale the city's entire accumulated production, scientific, and technical potential in the solution of the food question. Our modern industry's contribution to the countryside can and must be significantly greater than it has been so far. Furthermore, we are obliged to do this because at one time the peasantry and the countryside shouldered a huge share of the responsibility for the efforts to industrialize the country and restore the national economy after the Great Patriotic War.

To a considerable extent these tasks were resolved by the unequal exchange between the city and the countryside and at the expense of the manpower of the countryside. In the period 1925 through 1940 around R50 billion of capital investments was channeled into the national economy of the cities whereas R7 billion went into agriculture. In the postwar years (1946-1969) the countryside received R55 billion whereas the remaining sectors of the national economy received almost R300 billion. In the past 25 years the rural population in Russia and the Ukraine has fallen by 23 million people.

As people are saying increasingly often, the time has now come to repay those debts to the countryside. This does not mean in the direct sense of returning those billions which the state took from peasants through low fixed prices for agricultural produce so as to create a socialist industry. The country also benefits from the results of that. What this means is using the considerably increased might of the state, particularly the cities, to carry out the rapid retooling of agriculture and the social transformation of the countryside, and to ensure good working and living conditions for rural dwellers.

Another task whose solution necessitates the fuller use of the potential of the cities is the creation of modern food storage facilities and the technical reconstruction and development of the processing industry. Another task is to fully involve the cities' intellectual resources in the development of production and culture in the countryside. And, the fourth and final task is to consolidate the equivalent exchange between the city and the countryside and to eliminate the discrepancy between prices for agricultural and industrial output.

Party committees, party organizations, and the organs of soviet power in cities and industrial centers are required to play a great role in organizing the solution of these interrelated tasks.

In each city it is necessary to give greatest preference to solving the food problem and improving city dwellers' food supply.

In setting out the organizational and economic measures for increasing the efficiency of the country's agro-industrial complex, Ye.K. Ligachev noted that the stability and dynamism of agricultural production also depend on the level of introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the well proportioned and balanced development of the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As is well known, the city has the most direct bearing on this.

The fact is that in agriculture and the processing industry there is still much manual labor, and machinery and equipment often fail to meet modern requirements. A large percentage of those working in agriculture are still employed in manual work.

Meanwhile, in Kirovograd, Lvov, Gomel, Kishinev, and other cities the production of highly productive equipment for the countryside is postponed from year to year. According to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, 70 percent of the machinery produced by agricultural machine-building enterprises is not up to world standards. Because of the poor reliability of equipment kolkhozes and sovkhozes are forced to bear huge extra costs keeping that equipment in a state of readiness.

Party gorkoms, together with the party organizations of enterprises producing equipment for the countryside, must analyze how collectives are fulfilling orders for the production of machinery and working to improve their reliability and technical standard. This is one of the most important areas of involving the cities' production and scientific potential in resolving the food problem.

The speaker said that the city could take responsibility for a considerable proportion of the work of developing the base of specialist vegetable-producing kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well as the construction of hothouses and storage depots. Specialists believe that to resolve the problem of ensuring a full supply of fresh vegetables to the urban population year-round, it is necessary to work on the basis of 1 square meter of hothouse space and 100 square meters of irrigated open ground per city dweller. The storage of vegetable produce requires mechanized, technically equipped storage facilities of 135 kg per city dweller. Hence the need to develop the network of fruit and vegetable stores and shops for the processing of potatoes and vegetables.

The processing industry provides broad scope for the application of the industrial centers' potential. City party and soviet organs must spearhead the process of retooling or, more accurately, the recreation of a modern base for the processing of agricultural raw materials and the storage of produce. This sector has been neglected. For years problems accumulated here and went unresolved. A gap opened up between the production of agricultural raw materials and processing capacities.

Now, as is well known, a program for the accelerated development of the food industry has been elaborated and is being implemented. The defense industry and the machine building complex have been enlisted in solving it. But in a number of places it is not being fulfilled in the best way. This applies first and foremost to Ulyanovsk, Gorkiy, and Kirov Oblasts; the Chuvash ASSR; and the Uzbek SSR. The old attitude that the food industry is a second-rate sector is taking its toll.

The country's machine-building enterprises, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said further, failed to deliver R165 million worth of production equipment and spare parts to processing industries during the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan. We are asking party gorkoms and gorispolkoms to attentively analyze the work of machine-building enterprises which produce equipment for the food industry and examine the progress of construction of meat processing, dairy, and vegetable processing plants; confectionary factories; and other food industry enterprises as well as storage and refrigeration facilities. It is necessary to step up the work of primary party organizations at these enterprises and construction organizations and to turn to their labor collectives. People will respond if they grasp that their labor will result in better food supplies for city dwellers.

A powerful impetus must be given to the implementation of the program of priority development of the country's food industry. Naturally, the work of existing processing enterprises must be kept in the field of vision. In a number of places including Syktyvkar, Kherson, Novosibirsk, Blagoveshchensk, and Samarkand, their capacities are underused despite the fact that their output is in short supply. Everything necessary must be done to ensure the full assimilation of capacities. Special attention here must be focused on the establishment of stable labor collectives in the food industry.

Ye.K. Ligachev drew attention to the problem of the provision of social amenities in the countryside. This problem is becoming increasing urgent. Many issues have come up. As to the standard of housing, medical, trade, consumer, transport, and cultural services, the countryside is still lagging considerably behind the cities. Only 10-12 percent of the housing stock in rural areas has central heating, running water, and sewage, and only 5 percent has a hot water supply (in cities these indicators range between 80-90 percent).

All this is seriously exacerbating the demographic situation in the countryside. It has not only proved impossible to stem the migration of the rural population, in a number of places this migration has even increased. The most able-bodied people are leaving for cities. The countryside is "aging." Unless we manage to stop this trend, we will come up against new difficulties in agriculture in the next few years. No matter how many material and technical resources are channeled into the countryside, people were and are the main production force. Cities can and must contribute a great deal to the social restructuring of the countryside.

Subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations, orchard plots, and collective vegetable plots are an important help in providing the population with food products. Coal industry, petroleum industry, medium machine building, geology, timber, and gas industry ministries are actively attending to this matter. Gorkoms and enterprise party committees must constantly maintain the interest of industrial enterprise managers in subsidiary farms, ranking them as major production facilities.

City enterprises' endeavors to take on loss-making farms or enter into production-sharing with kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the production of meat and milk also deserve support. Special mention must be made of this. The seminar participants have acquainted themselves with economic ties which are developing between urban industrial enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Belgorod Oblast. These ties are relatively multifaceted and that is a good thing. What they have in common is that they take account of the material interests of urban and rural labor collectives. The cities are investing funds into the development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in return they receive above-plan output under contract. Broad scope must be provided for this initiative.

These, in our view, are the main spheres of the involvement of the production potential of cities in the solution of difficult food problems. It must be borne in mind that this work has nothing in common with the wholesale approach of drafting in city dwellers, and even less with benefaction. It must be conducted on modern lines, on the basis of economic calculations and long-term cooperation programs. Labor collectives must be involved in the elaboration of these programs; they must feel the advantages of their participation in matters of the countryside and tackle them consciously and with commitment.

It is also necessary now to considerably expand the patronage of urban scientific and cultural organizations over the countryside. We must also involve scientists, writers, and artists more actively in enlightenment work in the countryside and in providing assistance to kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the training of specialists, and the solution of production, social, and ideological education tasks. Schools and medical service facilities in the countryside must become the focus of special concern. Urban VUZ and medical collectives can do a great deal in this respect.

It is a tradition of our intelligentsia to bring knowledge and culture to the people. Involvement in the life of rural workers also enables the intelligentsia itself to make a correct assessment of the state of affairs in the countryside and to acquaint itself with the actual problems of the peasantry.

In conclusion Ye.K. Ligachev said that it is very important to provide the measures adopted to enhance production efficiency in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial commplex enterprises on the basis of economic methods of management with the backing of the entire potential of the country's cities and industrial centers. Ultimately this will result in improved food supplies to the population within a shorter time.

The conference-seminar was attended by I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Scientific

'Phobos' Satellite Given New Intermediate Orbit

LD1202172989 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission control centre:

The Phobos automatic interplanetary station which became an artificial Mars satellite on January 29 has been transferred to a new intermediate orbit. Another manoeuver was carried out which ensured a steady rapprochement of the interplanetary station and phobos. In accordance with a flight programme, the station's engine was turned on at 16.00 Moscow time on February 12, which gave it additional impetus and ensured the transfer to a new elliptical orbit with the following parametres:

—Maximum distance from Mars's surface (in the apocentre)—81,200 km,
—Minimal distance from Mars's surface (in the pericentre)—6,400 km,
—Inclination with regard to the Mars equator—0.9 degrees,
—Period of revolution around the planet—86.5 hours.

During the flight on this orbit the station will continue comprehensive observations of the surface and atmosphere of Mars, as well as the space around the planet, that were started on February 1st and continued on February 5, 8 and 11.

In the future, after the parameters of the station's movement are specified, it will be transferred to a circular orbit with a radius which will exceed by 200-300 kilometres the height of the orbit of the Phobos satellite. From this distance the station will carry out autonomous navigation measurements of the position of that satellite of Mars for the purpose of a subsequent rapprochement of the station and the satellite.

International Experts Discuss Martian Mission

LD1302161688 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Some six weeks before a Soviet space probe approaches a martian moon as the climax of the Phobos project, an international meeting of scientists opened here on Monday to discuss the next mission to the red planet in 1994.

The experts attending the meeting are from more than ten countries and are reviewing the programme of experiments and equipment for the project which will also be based on extensive international cooperation.

In the meantime, the space probe Phobos-2, which lifted off on July 12, 1988, and reached the orbit of Phobos on January 29, on Sunday shifted to a still lower orbit around the Martian moon to continue comprehensive experiments started on February 1, 5, 8, and 11 to investigate the Martian surface and atmosphere as well as outer space in the vicinity of the red planet.

The probe's sister craft Phobos-1, which was launched from Baikonur space port five days before it, tumbled out of control when an erroneous command was sent to it during a communications session on August 29, turning its solar cell arrays away from the sun.

As a result, Phobos-1 ran out of power and did not react to commands during the following communications session.

Apart from examining the 1994 mission, scientists at the Moscow meeting are adjusting the current project following the loss of one of the two space craft involved.

At the beginning of next April all the 28 thrusters of Phobos-2, which will then be within 50 kilometers of the Martian moon, will be fired to bring the probe as close as 50 metres from the surface of Phobos.

During the subsequent 25-minute flight at the same altitude it will, among other things, take panoramic pictures of Phobos' surface and sense it by means of a laser.

A laser beam will evaporate and ionise a speckle of soil, which will then be tested by the craft's instruments. At the end of the low-altitude drift Phobos-2 will drop two instrument-packed modules, one of which will remain anchored on the surface, while the other will hop about to explore the terrain.

The modules will stay operational for a long time, testing the ground and studying celestial mechanics.

Expert Sees Manned Mars Shot in 2010

LD1302215489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with R.Z. Sagdayev, head of the Phobos Space Projects, by reporter P. Orlov, at the Space Research Center in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Orlov] Will what has now been accomplished make it possible for man to get to Mars more confidently? For that is what we are after.

[Sagdeyev] Well, I think there's still a long way to go, but it will make it possible to continue moving more confidently toward that target. But I think now, after the fulfilment of this project, our task is to select the most effective and economically feasible design for the next unmanned craft. They must be cheap unmanned craft, but each step must, as in acupuncture, be in just the right place and must answer the most important questions. I think that really after two or three unmanned missions—comparatively cheap unmanned ones—we will get a manned expedition somewhere in the year 2010 or perhaps 2015. [passage omitted]

Scientist on 'Phobos' Project, Plans for Mars

LD1302232988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] A session of the council on the Phobos space project was held in Moscow today. Let us recall that it envisages the study of Mars and its satellite Phobos, using instruments mounted on automatic stations. Contact with one of these was lost during the 200-day flight to the planet, while the second one entered orbit around Mars' satellite and began the study. Our correspondent interviewed Leonid Vasilyevich Ksanfomaliti, doctor of physical mathematical sciences.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Leonid Vasilyevich, we waited impatiently for half a year for the stations to reach the vicinity of Mars, and this happened. It is, of course, difficult to speak about any results, even preliminary ones, but communications sessions have already been conducted with the station and some information has already been received at the Space Research Institute. We journalists are always in a hurry.

[Ksanfomaliti] I want to correct you immediately. You say that we have been waiting for half a year. It is you who have waited half a year; we have waited about 10 years, because our experiment was planned 10 years ago, and the same applies to many other experiments. In general, it should be said that the time spent on creating a device, on its flight to a celestial body in space, and on obtaining these results is only the initial stage of our work. Unfortunately, it takes weeks, months, and years of work to comprehend what is happening on that distant planet and to comprehend what has been obtained in this experiment. When you become accustomed to the problem you can say what is happening. Now, in a number of experiments, both directly connected with the planet itself and connected with the planet's atmosphere, the planet's near surroundings, charged particles, and magnetic fields, much that is new has been obtained. The scientists are attempting to comprehend this new material and to somehow link it to previous ideas; after all, it is not the first time we have flown to Mars. And each such flight reveals only little by little the information about the planet which we really want to obtain.

Now that studies have been conducted on the previous apparatus, we know that Mars has proved to be a very complex planet. A number of newly discovered phenomena show that on Mars, for example, there has been a powerful movement of shift of the entire crust relative to the polar axis. The axis evidently crossed Mars where the equator is now situated. In order to study the structure of the equatorial area, to study how the surface itself is arranged, to study the proportions of stone, rocky outcrops, and sand there, we are now attempting to mount experiments in radiometry, for instance. These experiments are in operation. We are obtaining some results which we later have to comprehend. In addition to the results which it will be possible to interpret as results relating directly to the physics of Mars, they also have simply pragmatic benefits. In the not-too-distant future a Soviet "Marsokhod" vehicle will clearly be traveling over Mars. [end recording]

'Mir' Cosmonauts To Be Replaced at End of Apr

LD1402094389 Moscow TASS in English 0806 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

"It is planned to replace the crew of the Soviet long-term orbital complex "Mir" at the end of April," it was stated by flyer-cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov, deputy chief of the cosmonauts training centre near Moscow. He pointed out in a TASS interview that Cosmonauts Aleksey Volkov and Sergey Krikalev, who have been working on the orbit for almost eighty days, will most probably be replaced by a new crew headed by Aleksandr Viktorenko. As to physician Valeriy Polyakov, it has still not been decided whether he should remain on the complex or return to the Earth. Therefore, it is difficult to say now whether the replacement will be complete or partial.

We intend to replace the crew, Aleksey Leonov continued, in keeping with the National Space Exploration for Peaceful Purposes Program. A tendency has emerged of late to make use of long-term orbital complexes with replaceable crews. The one-year "marathon" of Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov ended last year. Prior to that Yuriy Romanenko remained on the orbit for 326 days. As believed by medics, a one-year stay in conditions of imponderability is not the limit for a human organism. "Modern achievements of space science help the cosmonauts to surmount undesirable effects of weightlessness. Record-long flights, are not an end in itself for us, of course", the cosmonaut stressed.

Leonov believes that the program of space research would be expanded substantially in the foreseeable future. "A special supply module will be put into orbit. This will give the crew additional opportunities for extensive space research and for practical experiments in the interests of different sectors of national economy". Plans are afoot to carry out exits of crew members into the open space, it was stated by Aleksey Leonov, who was the first man to venture into the open space.

'Progress-40' Cargo Spacecraft Docks With 'Mir'

LD1202124189 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The Progress-40 cargo spacecraft docked with the manned orbital complex Mir at 13.30, Moscow time, on February 12, 1989.

The mutual search, rendezvous, approach and docking were carried out by means of onboard automatic equipment. The processes were monitored by the mission control centre in cooperation with the command instrumentation complex on the ground as well as Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov.

The Progress-40 spacecraft docked with the complex from the side of the Kvant module, bringing fuel for the joint propulsion plant of the station, food, water, equipment, apparatus as well as mail.

According to telemetric data and crew reports, the onboard systems of the manned complex Mir are functioning normally. Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are feeling well.

Recent Research Experiments Aboard 'Mir' Described

LD1402114789 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikolev have worked in orbit for two and a half months while Valeriy Polyakov has stayed in orbit for 170 days.

In recent days the crew performed a large number of extraatmospheric astronomy experiments with the use of glazar telescope.

Ultra-violet radiation sources in Auriga and Gemini Constellations were the objects of photography beginning from February 8. Individual areas of Monoceros Constellation are planned for photography today.

The astrophysical experiments programme envisages a regular cycle of research into the fluxes of high-energy elementary charged particles and their interaction with the Earth's radiation belts.

A series of diagram experiments are being carried out to determine the physical characteristics of the atmosphere near the orbital complex and to evaluate aerodynamic drag. The necessary measurements are made by means of a magnetic-discharge transducer put outside by means of a rod through the air-lock chamber.

Under the plan of operation to handle the Progres-40 automatic cargo spacecraft, the cosmonauts are to pump the delivered drinking water into the tanks of the station.

The results of medical examinations reaffirm a good state of health of Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikolev and Valeriy Polyakov.

Work aboard the manned orbital complex Mir goes on.

'Cosmos-2001' Research Satellite Launched

LD1402135488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, 'Cosmos-2001,' which is designed to continue space research, was launched in the Soviet Union today by a 'Molniya' launch vehicle. It has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—11 hours, 49 minutes; apogee—39,342 km; perigee—113 km; orbital inclination—62.8 degrees. The apparatus is operating normally.

* Gosplan Official on Technology, Funding Lags

WA1814O149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with V.D. Kazakov, chief specialist, USSR Gosplan Consolidated Scientific and Technical Progress Department, by B. Konovalov, IZVESTIYA science commentator: "Science and Measure of Truth"]

[Text] Of late there have been increasing claims that Soviet science is obtaining insufficient funds for its development. It is falling behind, which raises the threat of many serious consequences. The loudest and most concerned among these voices are those of the Academy of Sciences: inadequate funding for basic research. Is this the case? And is this the main difficulty of our science? Let us calmly consider this and listen to the viewpoint not only of scientists but also those who deal with the allocation of state funds. That is why we turned to V.D. Kazakov, chief specialist, USSR Gosplan Consolidated Scientific and Technical Progress Department.

Valentin Dmitriyevich, can you make a comparison between the funds invested in Soviet and American science and the number of scientists in the two countries?

In 1987 overall expenditures on science in the United States reached a figure which is, in our terms, fantastic: $123 billion. Our expenditures did not exceed 33 billion rubles. Obviously, we are spending less on science. But how can we compare dollars with rubles? The conversion of dollars into rubles is quite complex. The USSR State Statistical Committee has developed a special method with which to compare Soviet with American expenditures on science, which takes into consideration the relatively lower pay of scientists in the USSR as well as other factors. According to that method, roughly speaking, the amount of work done in our country for 33 billion rubles is equivalent to what the United States would spend in excess of $70 billion. Consequently, research and experimental design work accomplished in our country is approximately one-half the U.S. volume.

The reverse situation prevails in terms of the number of scientists. According to the USSR State Statistical Committee, in 1987 there were 1,518,000 Soviet scientists and engineers engaged in scientific research and experimental design (excluding those who combine jobs). The widespread American practice is to recruit people for scientific work on a contractual basis, for which reason they estimate the number of scientific workers in terms of "fully employed." The U.S. National Science Foundation assesses the number of American scientists and engineers engaged in science in terms of "full employment" as not exceeding 525,000 people, or nearly half the number in the USSR.

Therefore, according to rough estimates, on an average the efficiency of a Soviet scientist is one-quarter that of an American one. There are objective reasons for this situation. The availability of instruments, equipment and computers (modern in particular) to Soviet scientists is several hundred percent below that of the American. Furthermore, no comparison is possible between Soviet and American wages. As a whole, however, the low efficiency is largely the consequence of the poor organization of scientific research and the absence of a system of economic incentives for efficient work.

What is the overall condition of our science compared to the developed capitalist countries?

We must point out that the United States is spending on its science approximately as much as the rest of the capitalist world put together. Western Europe and Japan are much more economical, although scientific and technical standards there are frequently not lower and, may even be higher than in the United States. Naturally, it would make sense to compare our own funds with their economically invested funds and not with those of the United States. Unfortunately, in this case as well the comparison is not in our favor. We spend more on science than all Western European countries combined, and 50 percent more than does Japan. It could be said that we should take into consideration the scale of the economy. Let us consider what portion of the national income we spend on science. According to Western estimates, the share of science in the gross national product is 3.7 percent in our country, compared with 2.7 percent in Japan and 2.2 percent in Great Britain. In this respect we have even outstripped the United States, with its 2.7 percent.

Consequently, we are appropriating for science the highest percentage of the product of our entire society. Nonetheless, our science is lagging. In 1986 scientific consultants for the authoritative American journal FORTUNE provided an expert evaluation of the level of work done in the United States, Japan, Western Europe and the United States in the areas of computers, biotechnology, new materials and optical electronics (based on a 10-point rating system). The respective indicators were as follows: computers: 9.9, 7.3, 4.4 and 1.5; biotechnology: 8.9, 5.7, 4.9 and 1.3; new materials: 7.7, 6.3, 8.0 and 3.8; optical electronics: 9.5, 7.8, 5.7 and 3.6. Naturally, we should not trust excessively the American specialists, for they may not know absolutely everything. It is clear, however, that in these leading areas of scientific research the USSR is behind not only the United States but also Japan and Western Europe.

An indirect confirmation of this is the number of Nobel Prizes awarded. Of 380 Nobel Prizes awarded in physics, chemistry and medicine until 1987, 143 went to American scientists, 68 to British and only 10 to Russian and Soviet.

The American Science Information Institute claims that more than one- third of scientific and technical publications in the fields of medicine, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics, natural studies and space, published in the world, are authored by American scientists. A comparison between the frequency with which Soviet and American scientists are quoted also indicates that we are several hundred percent behind the latter.

USSR Academy of Sciences specialists believe that the situation in basic research is particularly alarming. This threatens to widen the gap. G.I. Marchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences president, stated at the 19th Party Conference that in the United States expenditures for basic research amounts to $15 billion annually, compared with 2 billion rubles in our country....

With all due respect to Academician G.I. Marchuk, I must correct him: 2 billion is the budget of the USSR Academy of Sciences and not the amount spent on basic research. The most expensive (and many other) studies, such as space and high energy physics, are essentially funded not out of the budget of the Academy of Sciences. For example, the "Energiya- Vuran" Project or the construction of the largest charged particles accelerator in Protvino cost several billion rubles. These projects are for basic research. One would hardly dispute such figures. Unfortunately, Academician G.I. Marchuk assumes a purely departmental position by classifying as basic research only the one conducted within the system of the Academy of Sciences.

In the United States exploratory work is considered basic research. In our country such work is done in the sectorial sciences as well, including the defense departments, universities, the All-Union Agricultural Academy and the Academy of Medical Sciences. American basic science includes research conducted by NASA, the Department of Defense, the Department of Agriculture and Health and Human Services. Incidentally, 41 percent ($3.7 billion) of all U.S. federal budget appropriations for basic research is in the field of medicine. If we were to invest all of our expenditures on basic research in the individual sectors, corresponding to the American, the result would be about 5 billion rubles. Naturally, this is less than the Americans spent but the overall expenditures for science in our country and in the United States are different. The share of expenditures on basic research in the overall scientific expenditures amounts to 12.2 percent in the United States compared to 16 percent in our country. Therefore, it is not basic research that destroys the balance in the development of our science and technology.

Let us note another aspect of the matter. According to their National Science Foundation, in 1987 Americans spent $14.55 billion on basic science. State funds, contributed by the federal budget, were significantly lesser: $9.67 billion. The balance is what is known in our country as "economic contract" funds which come not from the state budget but from private industrial corporations, universities, and various foundations.

Our society is more concerned with something else: "Will the horse be fed?" Will research outlays, even if we increase them, be justified? The biggest telescope in the world was built for astronomers but the country did not obtain any outstanding results. As a whole, "returns" from our science are quite small. Obviously, before raising the question of drastically increasing appropriations, there should be perestroyka in science....

That is absolutely accurate. The United States is not investing such huge sums in science for no purpose. Although no precise assessment has been made of the economic effect of expenditures on science, everything seems to indicate that returns on such expenditures are high. The situation in our country is different. This is indirectly confirmed by USSR State Statistical Committee data, according to which the annual economic results of the installation of new equipment in industry in the USSR are no more than slightly over R6 billion.

Let us remember that expenditures on science total R33 billion. It is quite doubtful that Americans would tolerate a science which would not justify outlays.

We must point out that in terms of our concept, the United States does not have an Academy of Sciences. In that country it is not a powerful system of institutes, additional payments for titles, and so on, but simply a voluntary organization which does not have a single institute or laboratory and not even a budget. There is a National Scientific Foundation, which is a governmental organization somewhat similar to our USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, as well as several federal laboratories subsidized by the federal budget. The funds invested in basic research come essentially from universities, colleges and private industrial companies. The Americans believe that what makes the most sense is to direct basic research toward specific tasks facing industry, the participation in such research of universities, and undergraduate and graduate student involvement in scientific work.

Clearly, the present state of affairs prevailing in Soviet science is unacceptable to our society. Everyone clearly realizes that the independent existence of academic, sectorial and VUZ science and the very complex system of managing their development, and their alienation from production requirements are unjustified. Science needs a radical perestroyka. I believe that the ways of such perestroyka deserve extensive debate. It is not a matter of a simple conversion to cost accounting, for the diseases from which our science is suffering are much more serious and deeper.

As to rivalry with the West, everything is extremely clear: we must compete against the developed capitalist countries above all not in terms of expenditures for science but the efficiency with which the appropriated funds are used.

Military

Aviation General Discusses Army Reorganization

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[Article by Professor V. Serebryannikov, lieutenant general of aviation, doctor of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "From the Scientist's Point of View": "The Army. What Should It Be Like? On Some Approaches to the Problems of Military Organizational Development"]

[Text] A number of elements of the mass media (Central Television's "Vzglyad" [View] Program, OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, and some local newspapers) have recently carried materials touching, to a greater or lesser extent, upon the problems of Soviet military organizational development. The issue focuses in particular on the need for radical military reform, on the Army's transformation from a standing [kadrovaya] army into a militia [militsionnaya] army or at least a mixed standing-militia army, on the Army's manpower acquisition not on the basis of universal military service but through volunteer enlistment. It is proposed that, instead of a mass [massovaya] army, we should have a small professional [professionalnaya] army built "on different principles." And so on, and so forth.

Attempts are made in this process to convince us that such approaches toward the problems of Soviet military organizational development actually conform with the views held by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin. That our present Army is the product of Stalin's distortions of these views and therefore almost the antipode of socialism. That, had we not departed from the principles of army organizational development on a militia basis during the prewar years, we would not have had to experience the bitterness of defeat in 1941-1942 and our people would have gained victory over Hitler's Germany more easily, earlier, and with fewer losses.

What can be said in this context? Of course, one can only welcome the public's interest, awakened by restructuring and glasnost, in an important aspect of our life like the organization of the country's defense and the building of its Armed Forces. But if this really is an important component of our life—and how can anyone have doubts on this account?—then it goes without saying that any discussion of it must be conducted at quite a high and responsible level, while suggestions should be substantiated, businesslike, and constructive. Unfortunately, that which is suggested by the authors of the aforementioned television programs and printed items gives rise to serious objections.

Standing or Militia?

It is untrue that the classics of Marxism-Leninism supposedly always advocated the militia system, perceiving it as the ultimate in military organization. F. Engels, for example, repeatedly emphasized the superiority of a permanent (regular) army over a militia army in terms of mobility, versatility, organization, and combat efficiency. He believed that a militia army, which can have neither good officers nor soldiers closely rallied around them, is capable of confronting only another identical militia army and is powerless when facing a regular army. The militia system was recognized as sufficient for a revolution, for stifling actions by a domestic reaction without its own regular army.

V.I. Lenin shared the same point of view. Until the summer of 1918, our Army followed the militia principle of organizing the armed defense of the revolution. But when the Civil War and foreign military intervention started, it became clear that we would be unable to manage without a powerful standing army. Vladimir Ilich bitingly denounced those who clung firmly to the old slogans: "Your calls for the setting up of partisan detachments to struggle against a regular imperialist army only make the soldiers laugh" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 36 p 515). As we can see, the same approach as Engels'—only a regular army can confront another regular army.

Following the end of the Civil War and the expulsion of the interventionists, we switched to the standing-militia system of military organizational development which remained in existence through the late thirties. The experience of those 15 or so years proved again that territorial-militia formations, even though they cost the state considerably less than standing formations, were noticeably inferior to the latter in terms of combat readiness, teamwork, and coordination, and the personnel's combat and technical training. The growing threat of attack on our country forced us to abandon this system.

But we had already delayed this transition, and that was one of the causes of our failures in the initial period of the Great Patriotic War. Here is G.K. Zhukov's testimony: "As you know, we entered the war not with an overall standing army but with a territorial army, and this had an effect on the troops' combat ability. What does a territorial system mean? It means that they did not know how to fight against aviation, they were not familiar with tanks and therefore, as you may recall, our Army was in the grip of fear of tanks" (KOMMUNIST No 14, 1988, pp 99-100). Therefore, we could not have held out in that war without a regular army.

F. Engels noted that the real end to the militia army, pure and simple, came with the introduction of breech-loading weapons (Works, Vol 32 p 17). It is well known that something more substantial than breech-loading weapons has become a reality. And this "something" has become a firm part of the imperialist armies' arsenal, giving them tremendous strength and might. But if bourgeois states have such armies, then a socialist state—if it wishes to survive—must show some concern for the appropriate military counterbalance capable of ensuring its people's peace and security.

If the militia army outlived its usefulness so long ago, how can it be possible to rely on it now, when weapons and combat equipment have advanced so far ahead, when substantial changes have occurred in the forms and methods for conducting combat actions? A transition to the militia system would mean immediate loss of military-strategic parity. We would sharply reduce our strength, place ourselves in a deliberately disadvantageous position, and offer temptation to those who are enamored of military adventures. After all, militia formations are totally incapable of mastering and efficiently using the most complex contemporary types of weapons.

For this same reason, a mixed standing-militia system is also unacceptable. The only difference being that, under this system, we would weaken not the entire Army but only that part of it which would be made up of territorial-militia units. For example, what would be the result of switching a modern motorized rifle division to militia organization? Only that it would in practical terms cease to exist as a combat force.

And a few more words about another aspect of this problem, in addition to its purely military aspect—the political aspect. The transformation of permanent armies into militia armies was a program stipulation of proletarian parties in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In conditions of capitalism's undivided domination, this demand was aimed against the militarization of states and the preparation for a new war, at making the working people's lives easier, at galvanizing their struggle for their social liberation. There was no success in implementing this demand. And nowadays Communists' program stipulations do not contain any such slogans.

But how about the future? It seems that taking a historical perspective, as new political thinking is implemented in international relations, as armaments and armed forces are reduced, and as trust is established between states, it is perfectly possible that the question of a universal transition to military organizational development on militia principles might well arise. But it must be universal and not unilateral.

Mass or Professional?

Raising the question of our Army's transformation into a "small professional" one is also dubious. Theories of small professional armies emerged following World War I in the West. Fuller, one of the authors of these theories, believed in an ideal army consisting of one man who would activate a mighty technical war machine by pressing a button. These theories never have been and could not have been implemented because modern warfare actually demands mass armies. This is the nature of present armies in the capitalist West. The United States, for example, has standing Armed Forces numbering 2.13 million men and a National Guard and reserves numbering 1.16 million, making a total of about 3.3 million men. NATO maintains a grouping numbering 3.66 million men in full combat readiness in Europe and its adjoining waters.

It is natural that we are also forced to have a mass army. Even though, if we were to compare the corresponding figures for ours and NATO's armies, it would not be wrong to bear several geostrategic factors in mind. For example, the vast size of our country's territory accounting for one-sixth of all inhabited dry land, and the impressive length of its borders which stretch over more than 60,000 km.

But we are principled opponents of war. We believe that mankind has accumulated sufficient wisdom to live in peace, solving any emerging problems not by force of arms, let alone terrible arms like nuclear missile weapons, but via talks. This being so, the need for mass armies recedes: After all, the fewer arms and armed forces, the stronger the peace. Not only do we consistently pursue this line in international affairs, but we also set an example in its practical implementation. Suffice it to recall the 0.5-million reduction of our Armed Forces announced by M.S. Gorbachev from the UN General Assembly rostrum.

Unfortunately, the NATO countries display no ardent desire to follow this example. Therefore, the suggestions made by some comrades to reduce our Armed Forces by 50 percent or more already go beyond the framework of reasonable sufficiency. The implementation of these suggestions would seriously damage our security. Reductions of military contingents on this or on an even larger scale are realistic only on a reciprocal basis.

As regards the professional nature of the Army then, bearing in mind the standards of soldiers' combat training, ours is fully professional. Almost all officers have higher education. The personnel on the whole are sufficiently highly trained to successfully conduct modern combat and to efficiently utilize weapons and combat equipment. The restructuring processes now unfolding among the troops offer new prospects in this regard.

If we took this term to mean the Army's manpower acquisition methods, it could be said that ours is semi-professional: Military service is a vocation only for officers, while privates, sergeants, and petty officers devote only 2-3 years of their lives to it. Now the "reformers" suggest making this a vocation also for them. But what benefit would we gain from a transition from universal military service to volunteer enlistment service?

Let us first of all note that transition to a professional army, even with reduced numerical strength, would demand a sharp increase of its maintenance costs. Where are these additional funds to come from if our state budget deficit is already quite sizeable even without this?

But financial considerations are not the main point. We would suffer the greatest damage in the moral and political sense: This would mean doing away with citizens' equal responsibility for the motherland's defense and their equal practical participation in this work; it would mean curtailing links between the Army and the people, and so on. In brief, there are no advantages to be seen in this innovation, no matter from which aspect it is examined.

Different Principles?

There are many other dubious notions held by "reformers." For example, it is blatantly demagogical to suggest introducing alternative civilian service for those unwilling (!) to perform their military duty. Or reducing the length of service to 1 year or even less. After all, given the modern technical equipment used by troops, this time would be hardly sufficient for soldiers to properly master even the easier military specialties. And when is a soldier going to be able to stand on guard, so to speak, and actually put to use all the knowledge he has acquired?

You can only smile at the idea of eradicating the command methods of leadership in military life. Here we have a blind analogy: Since we are abandoning these methods in the economy, there is no room for them in the Army, either. But an army cannot exist without orders, directives, and commands. It is a different matter that edict methods of command should not curtail opportunities for the development of democracy, glasnost, and the personnel's meaningful spiritual life. One-man command on party basis is one of the abiding principles of our military organizational development.

In actual fact, when holding forth about "different principles" of this organizational development, the "reformers" also take a swipe at the most important one among them—the principle of party leadership, formulated by V.I. Lenin himself and firmly implemented ever since. They seem to overlook that our party, having embarked on the restructuring of all aspects of society's life following the Central Committee April (1985) plenum, was the one to head restructuring also in the Armed Forces. That it was its 27th Congress and 19th party conference which gave clear and precise answers to the questions of how socialism and peace should be defended in the new historical conditions, what should be the nature of defense and the Army in order to prevent war, strengthen peace and universal security, and simultaneously maintain permanent readiness to decisively repulse any attack.

Work on the implementation of these decisions is now under way in the Armed Forces on a constantly expanding scale. A decisive turnabout is being implemented toward predominantly qualitative parameters in our military organizational development. The structure and command of the military organism are being improved. Important positive changes are taking place in the sociopolitical and spiritual life of soldiers' collectives on the basis of democracy and glasnost. Increasingly active struggle is being waged against negative phenomena like the notorious "bullying" and for the affirmation of genuinely exemplary discipline.

Will the aforementioned ideas and suggestions by "reformers" promote the success of these positive processes? No, they will not. They apply the brakes on the restructuring of our Armed Forces in the spirit of the demands of the time.